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THE NEAR EAST UNDER THE MANDATES

Political stock-taking, a task of many pitfalls under the best of circumstances, is attended with special discouragements when one attempts to characterize the progress of public affairs in such States as the mandated territories of Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria and Greater Lebanon, where empirical processes have recently brought about such diverse régimes. But decennial anniversaries have a way of challenging reflection, and, in spite of difficulties, the process of stock-taking is bound to begin as soon as one realizes that such an anniversary is at hand.

Just ten years ago, in the fall of 1919, British and French military authorities divided between themselves responsibility for the defense of the territories lying between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Soon afterward the British and French Governments were to accept the principle of trusteeship with respect to the welfare of these regions on behalf of the League of Nations.

What is to be said of the rate of development of the States concerned? Where do they stand today? What questions have been occupying the minds of the inhabitants during this tenth year in which they have been under the tutelage of Great Britain and France respectively?

Iraq, with a parliament which has functioned for five years, is generally credited with having enjoyed a steadier political advancement than the other territories under Class A mandate. Its treaty with Great Britain has given it a status differing in certain respects from that of the others. It possesses the machinery wherewith to work out solutions of many of its more difficult problems. But problems still exist on every hand.

One of the most pressing of these during the year 1928-1929 has been the task of revising the Anglo-Iraq treaty of 1924 and the military, judicial and financial agreements subsidiary to it. To guide the development of Anglo-Iraq relations in such a way as to satisfy the diverse needs of all the groups of human beings whom that relationship affects directly is no mean task. No agreement has yet emerged at time of writing between the British mandatory authorities and the political leaders of Iraq as to the precise terms revision ought to embody. Two Iraq governments have wrestled with the difficulties involved in revision and have been forced to give up. The first was the government of Ja'afar Pasha, now in London, and the second that of Abdul Muhsin Beg, who resigned because he could not assume responsibility for committing the country to certain expenditures which the British authorities considered it appropriate that Iraq should bear. Nor could he agree to postpone for another period of years the inauguration of a policy which would enable Iraq to develop rapidly an army entirely its own. He believed that Iraq should begin immediately to prepare for independence by building up a national conscript army less expensive than the existing one—an army which would provide a growing reserve force that might stand the country in good stead in case of emergency.

British authorities were not sympathetic to the conscription scheme, and after the arrival of the new High Commissioner, Sir Gilbert Clayton, early in 1929, a new Cabinet was installed in office whose Minister of Defense was not a supporter of conscription. Agreement seems thus about to be reached on this particular point.

The process of mutual adjustment between mandated territory and mandatory power is a slow one at best, however, and will continue to give rise to profound differences of opinion from time to time, as long as the special relationship between the two countries exists. The important question, of course, is not whether differences of opinion are on the increase or the decline,

but what is the spirit that animates negotiators representing the two governments when differences of opinion become acute. Something less than a mutual demand for complete docility or immediate responsiveness one may take for granted. The history of the past few years has shown that British and Iraqis are capable of cooperating in this negative sense to an admirable degree. What observers cannot but be interested in, however, is to speculate as to whether in the positive sense British and Iraqi interests will prove to be as completely compatible as certain authorities claim.

Palestine, in contrast with Iraq, is still without a national legislature, although it is now eleven years since the liberation of Jerusalem. More than once during the year 1928 Arabic-speaking Palestinians waited upon the British High Commissioner to petition him for the establishment of national government upon a representative basis. But there seems little immediate prospect of the actual inauguration of self-governing institutions since, in the first place, the Arabic speaking population of the country has not yet given official assent to the establishment of a Jewish National Home in their midst, and since, in the second place, the Jewish population is not eager to see a legislature established in which Arabic-speaking representatives would predominate. Under these circumstances government still has to be carried on by means of orders-in-council issued from the office of the British High Commissioner in Jerusalem.

Clashes between Arabs and Jews have not been frequent, but occasional incidents at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem have continued to occur, arousing Jews and Moslems, both within Palestine and outside its borders, to a high pitch of excitement. Demonstrations and appeals to the League of Nations have followed hard upon such incidents. But the extreme delicacy of the situation and the state of opinion in the country have made it seem unwise to the British authorities to appoint yet the special commission envisaged in the mandate for Palestine

—a commission which is to study, define and determine rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places. As long as unpleasant incidents occur, however, the impression continues to remain that a satisfactory degree of cooperation in government between Arab and Jew in Palestine may be difficult to secure for some time yet.

Zionist activity in Palestine seems about to enter upon a new phase. The set-backs of 1926 and 1927, which succeeded the record Jewish immigration of 1925, hastened the despatch to Palestine of a body of expert investigators to examine the country's economic position and possibilities. When their work was completed a small group representing both Zionists and non-Zionists made a careful survey of the field, outlining the policies which in their opinion would ensure the success of Jewish colonization enterprise in the future. The adoption of the main recommendations of this group by the World Zionist Congress in 1928 opened the way for non-Zionist groups in various parts of the world to cooperate with Zionists, thus foreshadowing a substantial enlargement of the scope of the latter's enterprises in Palestine.

The new policies were to be similar in many respects to those formerly in vogue, but greater stress was to be laid henceforward upon the observance of sound economic principles, whose neglect in certain cases in the past had brought acute distress upon some of the settlers during the period of depression. Careful selection of suitable Jewish immigrants, encouragement of agriculture and individual enterprise were suggested as two of the important elements in the policy of the future.

The founding in England of a Seventh Dominion League, whose purpose was declared to be the eventual incorporation of Palestine into the British Commonwealth of Nations, was an interesting development of the past year. But in Palestine itself, no matter how much discussion an event of this sort provoked, it was the economic and cultural development of the country rather than its political development which occupied the prac-

tical attention of both Jew and Arab. Political affairs in Palestine are for the moment less absorbing than economic and cultural questions.

Syria, in respect to its constitutional development, may be described as occupying a position something less than midway between Palestine and Iraq. It has failed as yet to establish a representative national government, but has been making definite attempts to do so. The Constituent Assembly, elected in April, 1928, under the French High Commissioner's edict, drafted a constitution, but was prevented from voting on it before the Assembly was prorogued *sine die* in February, 1929. Six articles of the draft constitution were objected to by the French authorities on the ground that they were incompatible with the terms of the mandate. Syrian leaders refused to alter the reserved articles on the ground that the constitution was a permanent instrument, while the mandate—if Article 22 of the League Covenant meant what it appeared to mean —was only temporary. They affirmed that the constitution of the state should be designed to meet the permanent rather than the temporary needs of Syria. The impasse thus reached in negotiations between Syrians and French was a distinct disappointment to those who had hoped that Syrian political leaders were about to have an opportunity to settle down to that constructive type of activity in which, throughout the recent uprising, they had declared it to be their ambition to engage.

The summoning of the Constituent Assembly had nevertheless given political leaders an opportunity to try their hand at constructive work for a short period, and the draft constitution, whether it is finally adopted in modified form or thrown out altogether, will always remain as a historical record of the aims cherished by Syrian leaders when they found themselves for the first time in centuries facing an opportunity to establish self-governing institutions in their own land.

In the first place they decided in favor of republican rather than monarchical government. The religion of the

President was to be Islam. All authority was declared to emanate from the nation. A unicameral legislature was to elect the President of Syria for a three-year term. Individual liberty and freedom of speech and of the press were to be guaranteed. Religious minorities were to be protected in their legal rights, and allowed to establish private schools to educate their own children in their own languages on condition of complying with state regulations. The constitution might be amended after a lapse of three years. The articles to which the mandatory power took exception had to do with the powers of the President and the legislature and the territorial claims of the proposed republic, which included in an indivisible political unit all "the Syrian territories detached from the Ottoman Empire," the post-war divisions in which were not to be taken into account. The President was to have power to declare martial law, to appoint diplomatic representatives abroad, to make treaties and to grant individual pardons. The Assembly was to be empowered to ratify or withhold ratification of treaties and of the President's declarations of martial law; it might grant general amnesty; it might take steps to establish a national Syrian army.

But the republic thus envisaged is still non-existent. Syrian political life is at the moment in a state of suspended animation.

Of the other territories under Class A mandate little can be said in a review as brief as this. Suffice it to note that among them also there is diversity of status. In the tiny state of Jebel Druze, French administration continues to be direct. In Transjordan representative institutions seem about to be established, although here, too, the British mandatory authorities retain effective supervision and control over details of government. West Syria is marking time politically, as it watches developments in Syria itself. Greater Lebanon, on the other hand, continues its task of trying to accommodate parliamentary government

to the needs of a relatively small population comprising a relatively large number of disparate elements.

The experimental period in the mandated territories can hardly be said to have terminated yet. After ten years both mandated territories and mandatory powers are still attempting to secure a more complete adjustment to a system unfamiliar to the world before the creation of the League of Nations.

ELIZABETH P. MACCALLUM.

SALMAN THE PERSIAN

Salman the Persian was a real character, the facts of whose life have been almost lost to history in the maze of legend that has sprung up about him. He was the only one of the immediate Companions of Mohammed who was a Persian. The stories this slave boy was said to have afterwards told about himself, his conversion from Zoroastrianism to Christianity, how he frequented Christian monasteries, and how he was subsequently led to the new prophet in Arabia, were eagerly collected by the traditionists of the ninth and tenth centuries, when the cultural superiority of the Persians in the Mohammedan Empire was strongly asserting itself.

Before Salman became a Moslem his name was Ruzbeh, " a good day," and it is commonly said that he later acquired the name Salman because he served the Prophet in the capacity of a " barber," *salmani.* He appears to have done more, however, than to shave the head and trim the beard of the Prophet, to establish himself in his intimate friendship and confidence. For at the time when allies of Arab and Jewish tribes had surrounded the comparatively small Moslem army at Medina, it was Salman who suggested that they dig themselves in, according to the Persian custom of digging a broad ditch, or moat, around the position to be defended. It was this feat of engineering that enabled Mohammed to be victorious in the Battle of the Confederates.

After the death of Mohammed, Salman was among those of the Companions who were partisans of 'Ali, the prophet's son-in-law, and who wished that he, rather than the father-in-law, Abu Bekr, should be the prophet's successor in official and religious authority. In fact he was

of that exclusive inner circle of 'Ali's friends who were present at the burial of Fatima, the prophet's daughter.

One of the earliest collections of traditions extant, the *Sunan* of al-Tayalisi, gives Salman the Persian as authority for several important sayings of the Prophet, such as "God has created many things that are neither permitted (*hallal*) nor forbidden (*haram*)"; and "If you anger the Arab, then you anger me." It is here related that Salman said that the Prophet was ashamed to have the poor pass the night without any money or anything to eat. And Salman reported that one time the Prophet took a dry branch and shook it until its leaves fell, and then said, "O Salman, do you not ask why I do this?" I said, "Why do you do it?" He replied, "So it is when a Moslem is thorough in performing the ceremonial ablution and in saying the five prayers, for then in the public prayer his sins are rubbed off as the leaves of this branch are shaken off." At that time the Prophet repeated the verse of the Koran (Sura xi, 116), "And observe prayer at early morning, at the close of the day, and at the approach of night; for the good deeds drive away the evil deeds."

In the comprehensive collection of traditions about Salman the Persian that is found in the Tabaqat of Ibn Sa'd, (vol. iv. i, pp. 53 ff.), we read that Mohammed ransomed Salman from slavery and afterwards treated him like a brother. Another of the Prophet's favorites was Abu Dardá, but occasions are mentioned when there were differences of opinion between these two, and the Prophet usually took the side of Salman. For example, when Salman had interfered with Abu Dardá in his desire to pray and to fast, the latter said to him, "Why do you hinder me in my praying and fasting?" Salman answered, "From your point of view alone you are in the right, but surely your family have their rights from you. You should fast, then eat, then pray, and then sleep." At that moment the Prophet came and said, "Truly Salman is full of learning." At another time Salman came to visit Abu Dardá on Friday. He was told that he was

sleeping, and so he asked, "What is the matter with him?" The family told him that it was customary for him to pray on Thursday night and to fast the following day. Salman, however, commanded them to prepare food, and when it was brought he said to Abu Dardá, "Eat." He replied, "But I am fasting." Nevertheless Salman did not let him off until he ate. It was then the Prophet came, and they told him about the matter, and he said to Abu Dardá, "Salman has been brought up to know more than you." He struck Abu Dardá on the knee and repeated this three times, and then said, "Do not think that Thursday night is a special night for praying, more than other nights, or that Friday is itself a particular day for fasting, over and above other days." On another similar occasion, when Abu Dardá complained to the Prophet that Salman had interfered with his piety, the Prophet gave Abu Dardá this good advice, "You should not make a resolution and then let it be cut off, nor set yourself to a thing and then let it be interrupted. Make up your mind to arrive at the end of the journey in spite of fevers on the way and noddings at night."

'Ali is reported to have remarked in regard to the learning of Salman, "If any one were to have the knowledge of the past and the future, he would still not know what Salman does." It was said by others that there were four men of the time from whom to seek instruction, and one of these was Salman the Persian. The Caliph 'Omar also showed him particular honor, for when he heard that Salman was coming to visit him, he exclaimed, "Come out with us to meet Salman." In dividing the spoils of battle, 'Omar fixed the portion of Salman at the same figure as that allotted to Hasan and to Husain, the grandsons of the Prophet. It was five hundred *dinars* more than what was given to 'Omar's own son, and this the people justified by saying, "Surely Salman bore witness with the Prophet in a way that the son of 'Omar has not witnessed."

One of the oldest of the Shi'ite traditionists was Ibn

Babuwaihi as-Saduk, (d. 991 A. D.), and in his great book, the Kamal ad-Din, (the Complete Religion), he gives the account of the early life of Salman which is commonly accepted in Persia:

"It is related from Musa ibn Ja'far (the seventh Imam), that someone asked him, 'Will you not tell us how it was that Salman became a believer?' The Imam replied, 'My father said that the Prince of the Believers, 'Ali ibn Abu Talib, and Salman the Persian, and Abu Zar, and a group of the Kuraish, were seated near the tomb of the Prophet when the Prince of the Believers said to Salman, "O Abu Abdullah, will you not tell me about your early life?"

"Salman said, 'I swear before God, O Prince of Believers, if any one else had requested this of me I would not have complied. I was a man of Shiraz,[1] a son of one of the villagers, and I was much thought of by my parents. We lived, my father and others, in the service of a certain landowner. I happened one day to go to a Christian monastery, where there was a man who called out, "There is no god but God, and Jesus is the Spirit of God, and Mohammed is the Loved of God." Hence it was that the character of Mohammed made an impression on me, on my flesh and my blood, so that I did not observe the taste of food or water. My mother said, "What has happened to you these days?" and "Why did you not come out to bow down before the rising Sun?" I showed such indignation at this that she kept silence. But when I went to my room I saw a book hanging from the ceiling, and I said to my mother, "What book is this?" She said, "O Ruzbeh, when we came back from our festival, I found this book hanging there. Do not go near that place, for if you do, your father will surely kill you." But I was much excited, and when night set in and my mother and father were asleep, I secured the book, and this is what I saw was written in it:

> In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate. This is a covenant between God and Adam, in that he created from his loins a prophet, whose name is Mohammed. This prophet will give commands for good conduct, and will prohibit the worship of idols. O Ruzbeh, you are the *wasi* or vicegerent of Jesus, so have faith and abandon the Magi.

"'When I read this I screamed and lost consciousness and suffered much. My father and mother became aware of my condition and took me and put me in a deep well, and said, "Either you will return to the faith or we will kill you." I replied, "Do as you wish, the love of Mohammed, may God be gracious to him and his family, will not depart from my breast." At the time I did not know Arabic, but on that particular day God gave me power to read it. There in the well is where I stayed and they gave me a little bread. I remained there a long time. One day I raised my hands to heaven and said, "O God, thou hast loved Mohammed and his *wasi* (i. e. 'Ali); because of his intercession, hasten my deliverance, and rescue me from this disaster."

[1] In the tradition given by Ibn Sa'd in the Tabaqat, iv. i, 53ff., Salman says that he came from a town called Jay, near Isfahan. Cf. Le Strange, "Lands of the Eastern Caliphate," p. 203.

"'Then it was that a person who was passing by came to me. It was a man who wore white clothes, and he said to me, "Arise, O Ruzbeh!" He seized my hand and accompanied me to the monastery, where I witnessed, There is no god but God, and Jesus is the Spirit of God, and Mohammed is the Loved of God. I went then to the man who was the head of the order, and he said, "Are you Ruzbeh?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Come up." So I went up to him and remained and worked for him for two years. When he was about to die, he said, "Now I am dying." I said, "Who will be in your place?" He said, "I do not know who will take my place, unless it is a monk in Antioch. When you meet him, give him my greetings and hand him this letter." He gave me the letter, and when he died and I had bathed him and wrapped him and buried him, I took the letter and went to Antioch. I reached the monastery there, and gave witness as above, and went to the head monk, who said, "Are you Ruzbeh?" I replied, "Yes." He said, "Come up," and I went up to him and worked for him for two whole years. When he was about to die, he said, "I am dying." I said, "Then whom do you appoint in your place?" He replied, "I know no one to take my place unless it be a priest in Alexandria. Whenever you meet him, give him my greetings and hand him this writing." When he died I bathed and wrapped and buried him. I then took the letter and went to the monastery of Alexandria, and witnessed again as before, and came before the chief monk. He said, "Are you Ruzbeh?" I answered, "Yes." He said, "Come up," and accordingly I served him for two whole years. And when he was about to die, he said, "I am dying." I said, "Then who will take your place?" He said, "I know no one in the world who will take my place, but since Mohammed ibn Abdullah ibn Abdu'l-Muttalib is about to appear, if you meet him, give him my greetings and hand him this letter." So when he died I bathed and wrapped and buried him. I then took the letter and went away from that district. On the journey I met a group of travellers and asked for food in exchange for my services. They accepted my offer, and when they were ready to eat they took a sheep and killed it with a blow on the head. They took part of it and broiled it, and the other part they boiled. I refused to eat. They urged me to do so, but I said I was a disciple of the abbot of the monastery and that the monks do not eat meat. When I told them this they struck me and were about to kill me. Then some of them said, "Wait! Let him go and bring wine for us, for he does not drink it." When I had brought the wine, they said, "Do you not drink wine?" I said, "I am a disciple of the monastery, and the monks do not drink wine." And for this they treated me roughly and were again about to kill me. But I said, "O men, do not beat me, and do not kill me, for I will be your slave." And I arranged to be the slave of one of them. But he sold me for three hundred *dirhams* to a Jew. This Jew asked me all about myself and I told him. I said, "I have no sin except the friendship for Mohammed and for 'Ali, his *wasi*." He said, "In that case I have enmity towards you and Mohammed also." He therefore took me outside his house, where there was much sand piled near the door, and said, "Before God, I swear that if morning comes before you have taken away this sand, all of it, then I will surely kill you." I deter-

mined to take it away during the night, and when I was thoroughly fatigued by the strenuous effort, I raised my hands towards heaven and said, "O God, insomuch as thou dost love Mohammed and his *wasi,* 'Ali, then for the sake of his intercession, hasten to my rescue, and deliver me from this difficulty." God therefore appointed a wind, which bore the sand from its place to the place the Jew had indicated. And when the Jew awoke in the morning, he noticed that the sand had been removed and said, "O Ruzbeh, obviously you are a sorcerer and I did not know it. Now I must send you away from this village, lest you destroy us." Wherefore he sold me to a woman of the Beni Salmiyah. She was fond of me, and she had a garden which she entrusted to me, and told me to eat what I wanted to from it and to give as I should desire to the poor. There I remained as long as it was God's will. But one day while I was there, I saw seven people coming to the garden. They were under the shade of a cloud, and I said to myself, "I swear that not all of these are prophets, but among them there must surely be a prophet." They approached and entered the garden and the cloud kept going round about them. When they entered, behold there was the Prophet of God, and 'Ali the Prince of Believers, and Abu Zar, and Midad, and 'Aqil ibn Abu Talib, and Hamza ibn Abdu'l-Muttalib, and Zaid ibn Haritha. When they came into the garden they wanted some large dates. The Apostles said to them, "Eat as you need, but do not destroy the fruit." I went at once to my mistress and said, "O mistress, give me a large tray of big dates." She said, "You can have six trays." I brought one tray of dates, thinking that if he was a prophet he would not eat what was given in charity, but that he would accept other presents. When I placed the tray before him, I said, "These are given in charity," and he said to the others, "Eat," but he himself did not eat, nor did the Prince of the Faithful, nor 'Aqil ibn Abu Talib, nor Hamza ibn Abdu'l-Muttalib (i. e., those of the *ahl-i-bait* or household of the Prophet). But he said to Zaid, "Stretch forth your hand and eat," and I thought to myself, "This is one sign in his favor, for he has not eaten from what was given in charity." I went back, therefore, to my mistress and asked, "Could you let me have another tray of dates?" She said, "I told you you could have six." I returned directly with another tray, which I placed before the Prophet and said, "This is a present." He reached forth his hand and said, "In the name of God, eat," and both he and his companions ate. I observed to myself, "This also is a sign." At this time I went aside and walked behind him, while his attention was directed below to the dates, but he said to me, "O Ruzbeh, are you trying to see my seal of prophecy?" I said, "Yes." He therefore withdrew his clothing from his shoulder and there indeed was the seal of prophecy. It was located between his two shoulders, and there were hairs in it. I fell to my knees to kiss it, but he said, "O Ruzbeh, go to this woman and tell her that Mohammed ibn Abdullah says, Will you sell this slave?" I went to her and said, "Mohammed ibn Abdullah asks if you will sell this slave to him." She said, "No, unless it should be for four hundred date palms, two hundred of them yellow dates and two hundred red dates." I returned to the Prophet and told him, when he said, "How easy that is." Then he said, "Arise, O 'Ali!" And they gathered together the seeds of the dates

they had eaten and took them and planted them. The Prophet said to 'Ali, "Water these." Before he had arrived at the last one with water, however, the others began appearing as green sprouts and they grew to the height that their branches touched one another. The Prophet told me to go to my mistress and say, "Mohammed ibn Abdullah says, Come get what you wanted and give me what I wanted." I went and told her, and she came out and looked at the palms and said, "No, I swear that I will not sell you for less than four hundred yellow date palms." At that moment Gabriel, peace be upon him, descended and touched the palms with his wings and they all became yellow, and the Prophet said to me, "Tell the lady to take what we promised and to give what she promised." When I told her this, she said, "I swear that I value one of these dates more than both you and Mohammed." In answer I said, "I swear that I value one day with Mohammed more than I do you and your whole garden." She gave me to the Prophet, and he set me free from slavery and gave me the name Salman.'"

If this Shi'ite account of the early life and conversion of Salman is compared with the traditions given by Ibn Sa'd, an important discrepancy is observed in the location of the Christian monasteries where he is said to have worked. Ibn Babuwaihi as-Saduq says that Salman went from Shiraz to Antioch and from Antioch to Alexandria, and that it was from there that he was finally referred to Mohammed in Arabia. In the longer tradition given by Ibn Sa'd, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas, Salman went from Jay to Syria, from there to Mosul, thence to Nisibis, and from there to Ammuriyah of Rum, before he was referred to the Prophet "according to the faith of Abraham the Hanifite." In another tradition given by Ibn Sa'd (*Tabaqat* iv. i, p. 58) Salman was one of a group of Persian emigrants in Basra who were called *asáwirah,* and after getting in touch with a priest in that city he went next to Himsa, and from there he was directed to a man who came to Jerusalem on a donkey once a year, and when he saw this man the second time, he was referred to a prophet who had appeared in the land of Taima.'

That Salman made the opportune suggestion to the Prophet about digging a moat around Medina is accepted by important Moslem historians. Masudi relates[2] that "the Battle of the Moat is the same as the Battle of the Confederates, when Mohammed was attacked by the

2 *Kitab at-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf,* Bib. Geog. Arab, viii, p. 250.

Quraish—Ghatafan, Sulim, Asad, Ashja', Quraizah, and Nuzair—and in addition to them by the Jews. The total number of the Confederates was twenty-four thousand, and with them were three hundred Persians and fourteen hundred camels. Their commanders were Abu Sufyan Sakhar ibn Harb, i. e., Sufyan the Rock, the Son of Battle. The Moslems were about three thousand. The battle occurred in the month of Shawwal, though some say it was in Dhu'l-Kadah. Salman the Persian informed the Apostle about the moat, and accordingly he surrounded their position with a *khandaq* or moat. Those who were besieging Medina stood about, ready to engage them in combat. But God helped His Apostle so that he overcame the Confederates and repelled them in their anger. . . . The struggle lasted during the period they stood by the moat, some say a month, some say fifteen days, and others give still different reports." Yaqubi (History, Houtsma, ii, p. 50) also mentions that it was Salman who indicated to the Prophet the expedient of digging the moat. The geographer Mustawfi, (*Nuzhat al-Qulub,* Eng. trans., p. 12), remarks that " during the war of the Confederates (when the people of Mecca laid siege to Medina) the Prophet, under the advice of Salman the Persian, caused a ditch to be dug around the city, which same ditch was twenty yards deep."

To these brief references by historians, the traditions add color by details such as the following, which are related by Ibn Sa'd (*Tabaqat* iv. i, p. 59), where we read that the Apostle of God drew the line for a defensive moat, and then assigned to each ten men a length of four yards to dig. The Muhajirin and the Ansár fell into a dispute about Salman the Persian, because he was such a strong man. Each group claimed him, but the Apostle said, " Salman belongs to us, the people of the Household." One of those who was digging with Salman reported that when they struck a hard white rock they broke their pick. Salman went and told the Apostle, who came himself and took an iron bar from Salman and with this

he struck the rock. Lightning flashed which illuminated both sides of the ditch. The Apostle and his companions then repeated the *Sura* of Victory. He struck the rock a second time and lightning flashed again, illuminating the moat, as though there were lamps in the interior of a dark house. Once more they repeated the *Sura* of Victory. The same thing happened again when the Apostle struck the rock a third time, only this time he broke it. When the rock was broken the Apostle sat down beside Salman, and said that the lightning had revealed to him the fortified cities of neighboring countries, and that Gabriel had said to him, " Behold my people are revealed by it."

We learn from Yaqubi, (History, Houtsma, ii, p. 173), that in the year 19 A. H., when Sa'd ibn Wakkas had been military governor of al-Madain for three years, he sent word to the Caliph 'Omar that the Persians were assembling their troops at a place called Jalula, in the region of Hulwan. He appealed to 'Omar to assist him, and accordingly Abdullah ibn Masud was sent to take over the civil responsibilities of Sa'd in al-Madain, in order that Sa'd himself should lead the troops against the Persians. It is said, however, that as a matter of fact the position of governor of the city of al-Madain at this time was given to Salman the Persian, and that Abdullah ibn Masud had been sent along as his assistant and councillor.

Abu Hanifa Dinawari (*al-Akhbar at-Tiwal,* edit. Ignace Kratchkovsky, p. 133), mentions that at the time when Sa'd first took al-Madain from Khurrazad, the deputy of the Persian king Yezdigird, the Arabs boldly forced their horses across the river Dijlah, and Salman the Persian was along and called out to the Moslems, " Behold, God has subjected the water to you as He gave you control of the desert, and I swear by him in whose hand is my life that the tables will be turned in al-Madain." Masudi (Les Prairies d'Or, iv, p. 196), also mentions that Salman was one of 'Omar's agents in al-Madain.

With few historical references, the matter of chronology in the life of Salman is difficult. If he was still a young man, as the traditions all indicate, let us say about eighteen years of age, at the time when he left his father's home and took refuge in the first Christian monastery, and if we follow the Shi'ite traditionist as-Saduq in his suggestion that he spent approximately two years with each of his three Christian teachers, he would be about twenty-four years old at the time when he was sold as a slave to the Jew, who sold him again to the woman who lived in the region of Medina. If we allow two more years to cover this period of slavery, he would be twenty-six at the time when he was ransomed by the Prophet. We know that this was about the time of the Hejira, and therefore in 19 A. H., when according to Yaqubi he came to al-Madain as one of 'Omar's agents in the administration of that district, he would be forty-five years of age.

It is from this period when he was at al-Madain that the traditions give us the best glimpses of his character. He first appeared before the people of the city, wearing a pair of simple trousers and an *'abá,* or cloak. When they saw him, there were some who called out, "A wolf has come! A wolf has come!" Salman inquired, "What are they saying?" His companions answered, "They are making a joke about you among themselves." He replied, "Let them have it, the good lies in what will appear after today." Another tradition says he made this same remark, perhaps in repetition, when a group of boys laughed when they saw him riding a barebacked donkey and wearing only a shirt which was so short and narrow at the bottom that he showed his long hairy legs.

His carelessness about maintaining his dignity for the sake of military discipline is illustrated by what he said when some of the younger soldiers commented derisively as he passed, "This is our commander." He merely remarked, "Let them alone, for surely the good and the bad will be evident after today. If you have to eat dust, eat it, but do not have authority over two men if you can help

it. Attend rather to the cry of the poor and the needy, for this is no uncertain task."

From several incidents that are recorded we gather that Salman's particular sense of humor led him to rather enjoy the compliment that was paid to him as a man of unusual physical strength, when villagers bearing burdens would see him, and without ever imagining that he was the governor, would ask him to carry their loads. He would of course be recognized, while helping some man with his load of cane or figs or fodder, but he would always insist on continuing to carry it to the place he had agreed upon. This ready committing of himself to helping others with menial tasks won for him a reputation of genuine sympathy with the common people.

He could usually be found in al-Madain sitting in the shade of a wall, and when one of the citizens insisted on building him a house, he first agreed, and then hesitated and asked what the dimensions would be. He was entirely satisfied when the man replied, "As high as your head and long enough for your feet when you lie down." We read of his sometimes buying meat and eating with the professional story-tellers, which would suggest the type of social life he most enjoyed. When he had servants, he was most considerate of them, for on one occasion, after he had sent his servant on an errand, a visiting friend found Salman at home, engaged in making yeast, which happened to be the task the servant had left unfinished. Another time, however, he declared to his servant, who had been careless, "If it were not for my fear of future punishment I would give you a beating."

We judge from the traditions themselves that Salman was little more than the nominal governor of al-Madain, and that not for very long. He was a highly honored citizen, a man who had been one of the early companions of the Prophet, but he appears to have chosen to live as a religious devotee rather than to accumulate wealth or to seek authority. He disdained to take money as a gratuity from the people, for we find him indignantly

rebuking a man who intimated that he could procure money for him by asking the people. "Do you suggest," he said, "that I should drink the water the people have washed their hands in?" He preferred to make for himself an honest living by weaving palm leaves. One of the reporters says that he went with his uncle to see Salman at al-Madain, and when he found him working with palm leaves, Salman explained, "I buy a leaf for a *dirham* and work with it and sell it for three *dirhams.* One *dirham* pays for it, I hand one *dirham* over to my wife for expenses, and the other I contribute to the cause of Islam. I swear that I will not discontinue this trade of mine even if the Caliph should forbid me."

The traditions as to what happened at the time of his death are well summarized by Masudi (Les Prairies d'Or, iv, p. 196). He ate barley bread and led an ascetic life of devotion to God. When he was about to die in al-Madain, Sa'd ibn Waqqas said to him, "O Abu Abdullah, give me your command." He replied, "Remember God in your care, when you are anxious, let the thought of God be on your tongue when you pronounce judgment, and on your hand when you take an oath." At this, however, he began to weep, and someone said to him, "O Salman, why do you distress yourself?" He said, "I have heard the Apostle say that in the next world there is a mountain road that no one can pass except those who are not burdened with baggage, and behold I see all these things surrounding me." Sa'd reported that he made an examination and found nothing at all in the house except a small drinking vessel, his tools for working with the palm leaves and a wash basin.

It is also related that there was a box of musk which he had kept for the time of his death. This he asked his wife to bring and to sprinkle about the carpet on which he lay, "For tonight," he said, "angels will visit me, and they perceive odor but do not eat food."

And after the death of Salman, a certain Abdullah ibn Salam, a Jewish convert to Islam who was his close

friend, and who survived him until A. D. 663, claimed to have seen Salman in a dream and to have asked him, "What have you found to be the best of works?" and Salman answered, "I have found trust a wonderful thing."

The date of the death of Salman is not recorded precisely, but it is believed to have been within the period of the caliphate of Othman, which would make it not later than 35-36 A. H. (656 A. D.), and in that case the actual age of Salman at the time of his death was probably not more than eighty years. With this ordinary lifetime, however, we can not satisfy the legend that makes Salman the representative of Jesus, (Ibn Babuwaihi as-Saduq, ch. 9, end). For we read that "Jesus had a long period of concealment, when he went about in the world, but his people did not recognize him. He then appointed or designated as his representative a certain Shimun ibn Hamun. When this Shimun died, again the sign of authority was hidden. Seeking was hard and there was much confusion. Faith languished, laws were futile, and obligations and virtues were not regarded. Men wandered from right to left and did not know what to do. During this period of concealment of any visible sign of authority from Jesus, one of those who kept seeking was Salman the Persian. For a period of from two hundred fifty to four hundred years he was waiting and searching until finally he was informed of the appearance of Mohammed." The orthodox Shi'ites, who hold to the truth of this legend,[3] reconcile the apparent anachronisms with the tradition by saying that in several places it is related that he stayed here and there "as long as God wished," which may as well have been decades as days. This legendary longevity Salman enjoys in common with others of those who embraced Islam after supposedly long experience with other religions.

One of the extremist sects of the Shi'ites, the Nusair-

[3] Cf. especially the long account in the *Nafas ur-Rahman*, by Haji Mirza Nuri; also the modern books in Persian, *Nama-i-Danishwaran*, vol. 7; the *Faris Namah;* and the *Tariqu'l-Haqayiq.*

iya, include Salman with 'Ali among the divine emanations, and represent a mythical trinity by the letters *'A, M, S*—i. e. 'Ali, Mohammed, and Salman. In this trinity 'Ali was the "Idea," Mohammed the "Name," and Salman the "Gate" or *bab,* (Cf. Browne, Literary History of Persia, vol. i, p. 203).

The Sufis, also, look back to Salman the Persian as an example of one who attained to the "state of longing" (*shawq*), and pointed out the tradition that the Prophet had declared that "Paradise itself longs for three men, for 'Ali, for 'Ammár, and for Salman," (Tirmidhi 46, 33; reference Wensinck, H. M. T.). He is included among the *Ahl-i-Suffa* (the people of the veranda) in the Kashf al-Mahjub, which is the oldest Persian treatise on Sufism, (English trans., Nicholson, Gibb Mem. XVII, p. 81). The Sufis recall that Salman was with the Prophet when the verse of the Koran came down, "And verily hell is the promise for them one and all," (Rodwell's trans., surah xv, 43), and that on hearing this he uttered a cry and placed his hand on his head and then fled for three days. This tradition is related by Abu Nasr al-Sarraj (d. 988 A. D.), who was one of the earliest of the literary exponents of Sufism, along with other anecdotes to show how various ones of the "companions" gave themselves over at times, with the Prophet's approval, to periods of meditation. The name of Salman appears also in the list of those saints, other than prophets, who are regarded as having exercised miraculous powers, *karámat,* and both he and Abdu'l-Darda are said to have walked on the sea.[4]

The tomb of Salman is near the suburb of Asbandur, in the region of al-Madain, and is known as *Salman Pak,* Salman the Pure, and many Shi'ites visit his tomb as they return from Kerbala. There are other traditions, however, that indicate that he was buried somewhere in the environs of Isfahan.

Salman has been called "the prototype of the converted Persians," and although many of the details of

[4] Cf. Kitab al-Luma' fi'l-Tasawwuf, edit. Nicholson, pp. 64, 134, and 321, and Intro. iii-iv.

his life have been obscured, the fact of primary importance remains unchallenged, he was Salman " the Persian," and not an Arab. As such, and as one of the known partizans of 'Ali, the Shi'ite theologians of the Safawi period have made free use of his good name as authority for doubtful traditions. For example, Mulla Mohammed Baqir al-Majlisi observes in the Zádu'l-Ma'ád, (Provision for the Hereafter) p. 16, that Sheikh Tusi and others have related *that Salman the Persian said,* " On the last day of the month Jamad-al-Thání, I went to the Apostle. He said to me, ' O Salman, you belong to our household.' He went on to say, ' Every believing man or woman who says three *rakáts* of prayer in the month of Rajab, and in each *rakat* repeats the Surah *Hamd,* and says three times " He is God " and reads three times, " Say, O you who are infidels—," without any doubt God will blot out from the record of that man's works whatever sin he has committed, whether in childhood or in his maturity. God will give him the merit of one who has fasted this entire month, and until the following year God will count him among those who pray. Every day of this month he will have the merit of one of the martyrs of the battle of Badr. Every day of this month that he fasts will be entered on his record as equal to a whole year of worship, and will elevate him a thousand steps in paradise. And if he fasts for this month, verily God will save him from the fire of hell and make paradise certain for him.' "

It would be unfair, however, to hold Salman responsible for things of this sort that have been and are still being perpetrated in his name. And sometimes as we read such selections from Majlisi's great prayer manual to Persian Shi'ites of the present day, young men who are beginning a quest for reality in their religious experience, we are disposed to recall Salman's famous saying, " the good lies in what will appear after today."

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THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE OF THE VIRGIN BIRTH

[The following article on the Virgin Birth is of present-day importance to all those who have seen the recent articles on the subject in the Moslem papers published by the Ahmadiah Movement. A series of articles on the birth of Jesus appeared in the weekly publication, "The Light," Lahore, and the attitude of modern Islam is to dispute the old, accepted beliefs of orthodox Islam, namely, that Jesus was miraculously born of the Virgin Mary. Dr. Basharat Ahmad in his discussion says that those verses of the Koran upon which the fatherless birth of Jesus is based have been utterly misconstrued. When Mr. Muhammad Ali wrote in reply to these articles and dissented from their conclusion, saying that for nearly thirteen centuries Moslems believed in the Virgin Birth, Dr. Basharat Ahmad replied: "This is a generalization unwarranted by history. To say nothing of others, the Prophet himself clearly expressed the same view as ours when he, arguing Jesus' divinity with a Christian deputation from Najran, said: 'Don't you know that Jesus was conceived by a woman in exactly the same manner as any woman conceives?' In other words, there was nothing extraordinary about his birth. How the fatherless theory found its way among the Muslims is not difficult to understand. It came with the conversion of the wholesale populations of Christians to Islam when Islam as a political power was at its ascendancy. They imported their own notions into Islam. No one took any notice of it because it was not worth while. It makes no difference so far as one's faith is concerned whether he believes Jesus was with or without a father. It was not worth while taking any pointed notice of it. Now however times have changed. Islam and Christianity are engaged in a deadly struggle for world mastery. It is therefore in the best interest of Islam that Jesus should be brought down from his Divine pedestal. In crediting him with a miraculous birth as well as a miraculous flight to heaven, the Mussulmans are only confirming the Christian contention that Jesus was divine, not human. It is therefore the crying call of the day to prove that Jesus was born in exactly the same way as any man is born, and that like all the rest of mortals he too had to drink of the cup of death." The circumstantial evidence in the article that follows will prove valuable to all those who have to meet such Moslem Modernists. *Editor.*]

In discussing the doctrine of the Virgin Birth, it is of importance to begin by recognizing clearly who are the parties to the discussion and what are the premises mutually agreed upon.

This is not a doctrine to be discussed with unbelievers. Missionaries do not take it up in preaching to unconverted Gentiles. In Dr. Vincent Taylor's book on "The Historical Evidence for the Virgin Birth," he examines the various sermons recorded in the Acts and comes to the conclusion, which he prints in italics as something very important, that "The doctrine had no place in the subject-matter of Apostolic preaching" (p. 21). It makes a missionary smile to see this announced as an important discovery, for there is probably not a missionary, no matter how orthodox, who considers it appropriate to discuss this doctrine in sermons addressed to general non-Christian audiences, as were the sermons referred to. Many a time I have refused to discuss it with men who had as yet no knowledge of Jesus and no belief in the God of the Bible.

On the other hand, the truth of this doctrine can not be a matter of discussion between men convinced of the inspiration of the Scriptures, as long as they consciously take their stand upon that as a premise. On that ground it is sufficient to show that it is taught in the Bible, which no one denies.

It is appropriate to discuss the truth or falsity of the Virgin Birth only when we have to do with people who accept the general premises of the Christian religion, but are not prepared to go further than to admit that the Gospel records were composed in good faith by honest men, who were, however, liable to error. This is the position of not a few earnest, godly and learned men today. Most of us, perhaps all of us, accept the inspiration of the Gospels, and are satisfied that whatever they say is true. We feel, therefore, no need to study the subject for ourselves, but in order to equip ourselves to be of help to men who are troubled about the subject, it is necessary, for the sake of the argument, to take ground upon which they also can stand. Perhaps it is easier for a missionary to do that than for some others, since he has to be doing it all the time in his work.

I shall therefore not argue from the inspiration of the Scriptures, but I shall assume that two things are conceded:

(1) That the supernatural is not either impossible or incredible.

(2) That the Gospel records were composed by honest men, writing what they believed to be reliable history.

The ordinary method of treatment is to state the case from the standpoint of lower criticism, to determine whether the story might be a later interpolation, then to consider the alleged silence of the Epistles and the rest of the New Testament (excepting only a few verses in Matthew and Luke), and finally to consider whether the alleged parallels in heathen mythology offer any tenable explanation of the origin of such a story. This may be called the direct method of examining the case. I shall not do that, but take up certain considerations which seem to me not properly emphasized in any treatment of the subject, viz: "The Circumstantial Evidence for the Virgin Birth."

Circumstantial evidence is thus defined in the "American and English Encyclopedia of Law": "Where the evidence tends to prove facts other than those in issue, which by experience have been found to be so associated with the facts in issue as to render the existence of the latter more or less probable, such evidence is said to be indirect, or circumstantial." The method of procedure in employing circumstantial evidence is usually that the lawyer who employs it sets up a certain theory as to the course of events, and then tests the correctness of this theory by known facts. The agreement of his theory with any *one* of the facts is comparatively unimportant, but if there are many facts that can be explained upon that theory, and not so well upon any other, the conviction becomes very strong that it represents the actual truth of the case.

Concerning the Virgin Birth, the following theories have been set up:

(1) That Jesus was born as the result of an immoral connection between his mother and some man other than Joseph.

This is the theory put forward by the Jews, and still commonly heard in heathen countries. It requires no discussion among Christians.

(2) That Jesus was born in the ordinary manner, as the son of Joseph and Mary, with nothing particularly unusual about it. This is the usual Modernist theory. It was held by the Ebionites among ancient heretical sects. It must not be hastily assumed that this excludes all belief in the incarnation. Dr. W. N. Clarke, in his "Outlines of Theology," says: "We must be careful not to say that God could not have become incarnate through an ordinary human birth, for we can not be sure that this is true." Obviously, that is so. We do not know enough either about God or about an ordinary human birth to make so bold an assertion.

(3) That Jesus was born of a virgin, conceived by the Holy Ghost. This is the doctrine of the church, based upon the Holy Scriptures. There are those who hesitate to accept it, because they find no reference to it in the New Testament except in two places, and they do not see how this silence is to be accounted for. Some others, who do accept it, account for this silence on the theory that the facts were unknown to the public, the secret of Jesus' birth having been closely guarded for forty or fifty years after his death. This is the view of Dr. Taylor, whose book has been referred to. After a very careful and scholarly examination of the case, he comes to the conclusion that Luke first wrote his gospel without any knowledge of the Virgin Birth, but learned it before he published it, and then inserted the story himself. Thus we have it from Luke, who heard it from some source in which he had confidence, but Luke had been a Christian for many years, and had completed a careful study

of all accessible sources before he ever heard of the Virgin Birth, which was, on this theory, told him as the revelation of a secret carefully guarded up to that time. Canon Box, who stoutly defends the truth of the doctrine, nevertheless says (p. 137) of the story: "Its comparatively late appearance and primitive character can only be reconciled by the explanation that it is based upon facts which were for a long time treasured within a narrow circle in close contact with our Lord, and which were only gradually divulged to the church."

This theory maintains the truth of the story, but at the same time makes it seem very unimportant. Luke's gospel is by many supposed to have been written about the year 70, or even later, that is to say, forty or fifty years after the death of Christ. By that time Christianity was well established. All its principal doctrines had been taught and explained for years, and numerous churches had been founded in Palestine, Asia Minor, and Italy. If all this could take place while the manner of Christ's birth remained unknown to the church at large, then certainly the Virgin Birth can not be said to be an essential or even a very important element in the Christian religion. If the early Christians could get along very comfortably without knowing about the Virgin Birth, we can get along very well without believing it. This makes it rather serious business for us to accept this view, just now very prevalent, even among orthodox scholars.

Hence, in this paper, I wish to state some considerations that appeal to me, and make me think that the question whether Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary or born in some other way was emphatically discussed during his life time and in the first apostolic period. My theory is that from the first there were not a few persons who looked upon him as born illegitimately, and that this had to be met by the story of his Virgin Birth, almost from the start. This does not exclude the probability, of course, that there were many others who had no other idea than that he was the son of Joseph and Mary.

Indeed St. Luke tells us that expressly in the words: "Being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph."

To recapitulate, the following three theories must be brought to the test of the facts:

(1) That Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary.

(2) That he was Virgin born, but that this was kept secret for at least a generation.

(3) That he was Virgin born, and that the legitimacy of his birth was suspected from the first, making necessary an early proclamation of the facts.

We assume that the gospel narratives are reliable as to their general statements.

I.—The first fact then, that bears upon the case, is the journey of Mary with her husband to Bethlehem, from Nazareth, in the last month of her pregnancy, as related in the Gospel of Luke.

Every one who has a little experience in the world will see that some explanation of such a journey is required. Mary was a young woman, about to become a mother for the first time. Under such circumstances she takes a journey of about ninety miles, probably on foot, at best riding upon a donkey. She leaves the place where she has grown up, and where she has relatives to care for her, and goes away to a place where she does not know a soul, as is evident from the necessity of lodging in the inn. What can be the motive of such a journey at such a time? Unless under extraordinary conditions, no woman will do such a thing, and no decent husband would permit it. If there was nothing extraordinary about her pregnancy the obvious thing for Joseph to do, if commanded to go to Bethlehem for registration, was to leave her in care of her relatives at Nazareth, go as quickly as possible, and come back at once. Was she legally required to go? Not at all. Sir William Ramsay assures us in the *Sunday School Times* that the Roman law made no such requirement, and common sense confirms his statement. In what country under heaven was it or is it required that a woman, under such circumstances, shall personally ap-

pear to register? Did they go in order that the child might be born in the city of David? Surely, if that had been the case, they would have thought of it earlier and gone at a more opportune time.

On the first theory, that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary, and on the second, that while he was Virgin born, the revelation to Joseph and the subsequent marriage took place so early that her condition occasioned no scandal, we are left entirely without any satisfactory explanation of this strange journey. But now let us take the facts to be as recorded in the Bible, and further let us suppose that nothing was known until her pregnancy was so far advanced that the fact could not be hid. Then we have a situation that agrees naturally with the words of Matthew that she "*was found with child,*" and with the distress of mind into which Joseph was cast when some one (not Mary herself) called his attention to her condition. If it became known to Joseph in that way, then it certainly became known to others also and was a matter of common gossip in the village—very unpleasant gossip, accentuated by her previously unspotted character. The contempt and indignation directed against her, however, would be scarcely so great as that directed against Joseph when he did the wholly unexpected thing and took to wife such a woman. The Jewish Encyclopedia describes the natural reaction of the Jew to such a situation in the following words: "He who marries a woman unworthy of him is bound by Elijah and chastised by God. . . . Woe to him who profanes his children and degrades his family."

Whether Joseph attempted to justify himself by telling his friends of his dream or not makes no great difference. No one would believe him, and it would only make matters worse. Reconstructing the situation in this way, we can see that Nazareth was getting to be an intolerable place for both Joseph and Mary, and when the command came for the former to go to Bethlehem, it was something that, desperate as it was, offered a way out.

Now if the situation was as we have imagined it, there was no possibility of the affair remaining a secret. As soon as Jesus began to do his public work, his enemies would be sure to dig up this old scandal, and his friends would either have to admit the truth of it, which would put an end to his Messianic claims, or to meet it with the facts as recorded in the Scriptures.

This journey, therefore, is the first fact that can be explained upon the theory that the story is true and was well known, but is inconsistent both with the story of an ordinary birth and with that of a well guarded secret.

II.—The second fact is the failure of Joseph and Mary to return to Nazareth promptly—their evident intention to make their permanent home in Bethlehem. That this was their intention is recognized by students, and appears from the fact that they were still in Bethlehem when the Wise Men arrived, certainly some weeks, probably some months after the presentation in the temple. At that presentation Mary was present, showing that on the fortieth day she was able to travel. Why should they not have returned to Nazareth? Joseph had his business there, and it was one in which he had better chance of success in a thriving town like Nazareth than in a back country village like Bethlehem. He had his circle of patrons, and was well known to the community. No tradesman likes to give up an established position like that and begin again in a strange town if he can help it. This requires a motive. If we take the hypothesis already set forth, that the situation at Nazareth was intolerable for them, we have a better explanation of this fact than can be given on any other ground. If this fact of their intention to settle at Bethlehem were gleaned from St. Luke's gospel, it would be a part of the first circumstance cited and have no additional force, but resting on Matthew's account it stands as an independent fact.

III.—Third Fact: The reluctance of Joseph and Mary to return to Nazareth even after their sojourn in Egypt. Probably two or three years had elapsed when they set out

to return to Palestine. Yet they bent their steps to Bethlehem, and it required a special instruction by an angel to induce them to go back to Nazareth. Why were they so reluctant to go there? It was Mary's home, probably Joseph's also. Their old friends and acquaintances lived there, and would presumably welcome them after their long absence. If the birth of Jesus was considered illegitimate, and if Joseph's marriage under the circumstances was considered in their circle an indelible disgrace, one can understand this reluctance, but it is not easily explained on the theory of an ordinary birth or of a miraculous birth successfully kept secret.

IV.—Fourth Fact: The extensive use of the title "Son of God," in early New Testament times, in the light of the definition of that term found in Luke 1:35: "Therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God."

I need not take time to show that the expression "Son of God," occurs commonly in the gospels and the epistles, as applied to Jesus. Every one who is at all familiar with the New Testament is acquainted with that fact. What is, however, not so commonly known, and rarely considered as it deserves to be, is the further fact that this title is almost or entirely unknown before Christ. It occurs in the second book of Esdras, but that is dated 80 A. D. Edersheim quotes it as appearing indirectly in the Book of Enoch, in the expression ascribed to God: "My Son and I," but he admits that the date is disputed. The Encyclopædia Biblica says: "There is no passage in Jewish literature that can be confidently dated as earlier than Christianity in which this name is given to the Messiah."

Yet, suddenly, in the Christian writings, this name is not only found but takes precedence of all other names of the Messiah. This is a literary fact—are we to suppose it has no cause? What cause can be assigned? If the expression "Son of God" means, not exclusively, but as its primary signification upon which others are built, that

he was Virgin born, and if this fact was one of the commonplaces of discussion at the very origin of Christianity, then this phenomenon is easily accounted for. I have never seen any other cause assigned. Now consider the wording of Luke 1: 34–35. Mary asks: "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?"; and in answer to this question comes this explanation from the angel: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the highest shall overshadow thee. Therefore also that holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." The word "therefore" is emphatic. Because of his birth without any human father, therefore he shall bear the title "Son of God." This links the Virgin Birth and the title "Son of God" inseparably. Of course this does not mean that those words in themselves necessarily denote a Virgin Birth. In the Second Psalm they do not. Nor does it mean that the words "Son of God" as applied to Jesus Christ have no meaning beyond that of the Virgin Birth. But it is certainly a definite assertion that he bears this title because of the manner of his birth, and if so, then upon this manner of birth must rest his right to whatever else the words may mean. Let us illustrate by reference to the title "Prince of Wales." Two things are conveyed by this title: 1.—That the bearer is the eldest son of the King of England. 2.—That he is the heir apparent to the throne.

When the title "Prince of Wales" is used in public, people ordinarily think of his public position as the heir apparent, rather than of his birth; yet the latter consideration is equally involved in his bearing the title, and if, in the case of any individual, it should become clear that the relation of sonship to the king did not exist, his position as the heir apparent would immediately fall away. We may state it this way: "He is the eldest son of the King of England, therefore also he shall be called 'The Prince of Wales.' So St. Luke represents the angel as saying: "The power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: there-

fore, also, that which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God."

Now, if we accept this as a correct report of words actually employed by an angel, there is, of course, no more room for argument. If we consent, for the sake of the discussion, to talk the language of a certain class of Bible students, and say that this story is the way the early Christians phrased their belief in the extraordinary character and exalted dignity of Christ, yet even so the significance of the passage remains, as giving us a clue to the "usus loquendi," that is, the manner of speaking, of the early church, for it is clear that if this story is a legend growing up within the church, it grew up there because it expressed the faith of the church, and in that case this language was employed in the legend because this was the way the early Christians understood these words. Dr. Taylor thinks that St. Luke put these words into his manuscript himself, after he learned of the Virgin Birth. Very well, if Luke did that, then he chose these words because this was the meaning which he knew was attached to them in his day. Whichever way you turn it, you can not escape the linguistic significance of those clear words: "*Therefore,* he shall be called the Son of God." It must govern at least St. Luke's use of the term. By this passage he, so to speak, warns us that when he uses the words: "Son of God," he refers to the Virgin Birth.

As already remarked, this does not mean that the phrase does not also contain other implications. Just as the title "Prince of Wales," contains two implications, physical origin and future royalty, so the title "Son of God" in the New Testament, clearly contains three: physical origin, Messiahship, and Divinity. Sometimes the emphasis is upon the one and sometimes upon the other; they are not mutually exclusive; but just as the birth of the Prince of Wales is the basic fact, upon which the other significance of the title depends, so Luke 1:35 informs us clearly that the physical origin of Jesus is the

basic fact, upon which rests his title to the other things involved in the words: "Son of God."

That St. Luke so understood it seems to me not open to doubt. But no one knew better than he what Christian terminology meant in his day. His intimate association with St. Paul, and his obviously profound admiration for him forbid us to think that he would attach such a meaning to the words if St. Paul did not.

Now if there is such a connection as I have stated between the various meanings of the phrase "Son of God," the Virgin Birth idea being the basis of all the rest, and if this fact was from the beginning well known among those who used the phrase, then we have a sufficient explanation of the remarkable fact, that this phrase leaps so suddenly into prominence as a title of the Messiah. On this view it is not necessary to believe that every one who used the phrase knew the Virgin Birth story. It is quite likely that many people use the phrase "Prince of Wales," and know that it means the heir apparent, who do not know that sonship to the king is involved, or who, knowing it, do not think of it or intend to refer to it.

In the light of this meaning of the words "Son of God," what becomes of the alleged silence of the New Testament with regard to the Virgin Birth? If the very words "Son of God" carry this implication, then the New Testament, so far from being silent, is vocal with the doctrine on almost every page. To prove the alleged silence, one must be able to prove that this meaning, in spite of its being emphatically put forth in Luke 1:35, was unknown or unthought of in the generation immediately after the death of Christ. It would take a good deal of proving to establish that!

I would like to go one step further, and say that we have here, in my opinion, an explanation of the silence of the New Testament writers so far as explicit discussion or detailed mention of the Virgin Birth story itself is concerned. If I am right, the cruel and revolting accusation that Jesus was of illegitimate birth must have constantly

come up in discussions with unbelieving Jews, and it became convenient to use a formula rather than a franker expression. Such controversies frequently crystallize in terse formulas. Once the formula was well understood within the Christian church it would be constantly used, with full consciousness of what it meant, and just for that reason all further description of the event would be superfluous. So understood, the silence of the New Testament results not from lack of knowledge, or from rejection, but from completeness of acceptance. A parallel to this can be found in the preaching of almost every evangelical minister.

V.—Fifth Fact: Now with this meaning of the term in mind, let us turn back to the history and see how St. Luke uses the term "Son of God." Take first the remarkable story of Jesus in the temple. It is the only story of his childhood in any of the gospels. Why is it inserted at all? Evidently the whole point of it lies in the reply of Jesus to his mother: "Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?" The contrast between what she had just said: "Thy father," and his words: "My Father's house," is too striking to be accidental. To understand this merely as the religious or ethical relation to our Heavenly Father makes the whole story insipid. If we remember that the writer has just given us an indication of what he means by Jesus' being the Son of God, and understand this also in that sense, we get an adequate cause for the incident and for its insertion here. Notice also St. Luke's remark that Jesus went with them to Nazareth and "was subject unto them," that is, to Joseph and Mary. What occasion was there for such a remark, if, as Dr. Taylor thinks, Luke first wrote the entire gospel without knowing of the Virgin Birth? Was that worth saying about an ordinary Jewish boy, that he was subject to his parents?

To the minds of many, a difficulty arises from the statement that Joseph and Mary did not understand the reply of Jesus. They say: "If Jesus was Virgin born, and this fact was well known to Joseph and Mary, they could not

fail to understand the reference." But this difficulty remains, no matter what meaning you attach to the words. The best explanation of their failure to understand seems to me to be that Jesus had not yet been told by them anything about his own birth and that they supposed him ignorant of it. Hence the idea that this was a reference to it did not occur to them.

How Jesus learned of it, whether by supernatural revelation or from someone at Jerusalem, we can not tell. I like to fancy, for myself, that the old priest Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, was still living, and that he took an interest in the boy. If so, he may have told him.

VI.—Sixth Fact: The baptism. Another link in the chain of circumstantial evidence that seems to me of importance is the voice at the baptism of Jesus and the effect this voice had upon him. Here, as in many places, we are confronted with the insoluble question of the relation between the divine and human natures in Christ. However strongly we may believe his absolute deity, we must also, holding to the truth of a genuine manhood, look for some intelligible human process of development of his self-consciousness. Therefore it seems impossible to believe that the voice from heaven was unrelated to the psychological preparation in Jesus himself. If the story of the Virgin Birth is not true, it is not easy to see any such preparation that would lead up to the use of those words. Yet the phrase "Thou art my son," can not be supposed to have been wholly unintelligible to the one to whom it was addressed. But what did it mean to him? His messiahship? As has been stated, there is no reason to think that it was a current Messianic title until made so by Christ and his disciples. If we consider that Jesus had learned the story of his own birth, and had meditated deeply on it, but had refrained from taking any public steps on the basis of it, waiting for some clear divine confirmation, then we can see how the voice would come as the climax of long internal preparation, and we can see

how naturally the intense excitement of the forty days would result. This incident also, it seems to me, can be better explained upon the theory that the Virgin Birth story is true and that the words "Son of God" imply such an origin, than upon any other.

VII.—This leads to another consideration, namely, that the Virgin Birth is necessary as a starting point for the conception of deity in Christ's own mind and in that of his apostles. That is to say, the seventh fact that must be explained is the exalted view of the person of Christ held by Jesus himself and embodied in the gospels and epistles. How very high that conception was is evident in the parables as well as in the direct statements of Jesus and the apostles. Where did it all come from: how did such an idea get started if Jesus was not Virgin born, and if that fact was not known to the church from the beginning? It always seems to me, when I read discussions of this subject, that the difficulties involved in any other theory are not sufficiently recognized. That such an exalted Christology did come into existence in his own mind before his death, and in the minds of his followers immediately afterwards is an undeniable historical fact, and there must have been an adequate starting point. The miracles of Christ are not sufficient, for the ancient prophets wrought miracles. His sinlessness could not be the cause, for that conception itself requires a basis other than mere outward observation of his conduct. The resurrection would not in itself suggest the idea of his deity, although it would powerfully confirm it if suggested by something else.

Assume the Virgin Birth story to be true, and to be common knowledge in Christian circles, and you have an adequate starting point. You have then a fact that explains everything. Consider it untrue, or unknown to the generation that first conceived of Christ as divine, and the whole wonderful development hangs in the air.

Moreover, in that case you have yet another insoluble problem, namely, how the Virgin Birth, which if the story is not true or if it was unknown, had nothing to do with

forming such a high conception of Christ's nature, yet later, and very soon, came to be accepted as the one standard expression of that conception.

When we read the epistles of Ignatius and the writings of Justin Martyr, it is clear that they not only believed the deity of Christ, but connected this doctrine with the Virgin Birth. The Apostles' Creed, also, has no confession of his deity, or any reference whatever to his exalted nature unless it is found in the words: "His only begotten Son, our Lord, Who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." Yet, on the hypothesis of those who think the story untrue, or if true unknown to the earliest group of the apostolic church, we must believe that a story which had nothing to do with leading the church to its exalted Christology, and without which, therefore, that Christology could very well get along, yet, once it began to be told, immediately usurped the first place, so as to become the only thing by which the church cared to express its convictions on this supreme point. We must believe, also, that a story which during the lifetime of all the chief apostles, was unheard of, won immediate acceptance without their authority and did so without a trace of controversy within the church, in spite of the fact that it suggested most damaging suspicion concerning the legitimacy of his birth. Many things seem to me more probable than that. In a word, to assume either that the Virgin Birth story is untrue or that it was kept a secret, throws the whole early development of Christian doctrine into hopeless confusion, and causes the entire course of the history to stand upon its head.

To my mind, so far from the Virgin Birth being a by-product of Christian imagination, or a thing that while true, was unnecessary and uninfluential in the origin of the Christian religion, it underlies the entire development. So far as I can see, it is something absolutely required to explain the rise of the Christian religion as we find it in the New Testament and sub-apostolic documents.

Holland, Mich. ALBERTUS PIETERS.

THE TRAGEDY OF SMYRNA IN THE LIGHT OF TODAY

The great fire of Smyrna occurred in September, 1922, but to those who witnessed the vast conflagration, the details of the great tragedy are as vivid as though they had occurred but yesterday. Nothing can efface that great scene from the writer's memory, and it was great and terrible in every sense of the words. After four days of pillage and massacre the surviving Greeks and Armenians were driven to the water's edge by the flames of the burning city. A quarter of a million despairing Christians were gathered on the broad stone quay, a relentlessly advancing wall of flame behind them, the sullen waters of Smyrna Bay before them, Turkish soldiers with drawn bayonets at either end of the long quay to cut off their escape beyond the city. Then began the rescue; a sea wind blew up from the Bay and the flames ceased to advance—boats were lowered from the warships in the harbor and 25,000 refugees found safety on the decks of the vessels of the Allies. The fire gradually died out. Multitudes of survivors were carried to places of safety in Greece and the neighboring islands, while multitudes more, less fortunate, were driven back into the interior to perish from famine and disease. Only a fraction of those who failed to escape from the burning city to Greece and the islands ever lived to tell the terrible tale of wandering for months in the interior, driven from place to place by hostile officials and finally escaping from the country from various ports along the Black Sea coast.

Following the burning of Smyrna came the conferences of Moudania, a small town on the coast of the Marmora, where once more European jealousy and dis-

trust won the victory for Turkish diplomacy. Constantinople and the surrounding regions, including eastern Thrace, were assured to Turkey and with this was granted the long desired liberty to expel forever from Turkish borders all who bore the name of Christian.

The limits of this article will not permit of describing the long drawn out tragedy of the year 1923, when over a million Christians were deported from Turkey, losing all their possessions and many of them perishing from disease on the way. As a corollary to the Christian deportation came the influx of Mohammedans from Greece and the islands—they also the hopeless victims of the failure of European diplomacy.

Our first reaction to the tragedy of Smyrna was one of horror at Turkish cruelty, which in magnitude and concentration exceeded any previous act of atrocity committed by this nation upon its alien subjects; yet mature reflection should divide the responsibility between Turkey and Europe, with perhaps the balance of blame upon Europe and, may we say it, to a certain degree upon America as well. How easy it would have been to have prevented the whole tragedy of Smyrna and the horrors that followed! When the Turks entered Smyrna, there were present in the harbor fifteen or twenty warships—American, English, French and Italian—abundantly capable of impressing Mustapha Kemal's army with the futility of opposing Allied civilization. Had humanity united the Allies in a definite policy toward the Near East, instead of a greedy desire for dividends, a few words to the Commanding Turkish General would at once have stopped the looting and massacre in the city, and the fire would probably never have occurred. The Turks could have been allowed a reasonable homeland in Asia Minor; Constantinople and the Straits could have been erected into a small International State to act, like Switzerland, as a buffer between East and West and as a guarantee of the peace of the Near East; Armenia could have been given an outlet on the Mediterranean, and some sem-

blance of justice and freedom to develop along national lines could have been granted to all those distressed nations. At least once in history the civilized nations united in a genuine humanitarian effort for the Near East, when they forced upon the Turkish Government the establishment of a partially autonomous state in Syria, the Lebanon region, which in 1860 was freed from direct Turkish control and became a safe and prosperous district and a haven for oppressed Christians. But this time the selfish interests of the Allied nations were too great, their supposed unity rested upon grounds too slender to support unified action, so once more the Christians suffered and the Turks issued triumphant.

However, a kindly Providence always turns human failure into some kind of unforeseen blessing. Greece, at first overwhelmed by the arrival of a million impoverished and helpless refugees, gradually assimilated them, and soon found them a marvelous asset to her industries and economic life. The orphans who had been under American care were scattered far and wide over the Near East, to find useful employment, make good names for themselves, and carry in some measure the effect of Christian influence and training into the communities where they went. Multitudes of Armenians were driven into Syria, where, with the grit and industry characteristic of the race, they established themselves once more, and where in such cities as Urfa and Aleppo they have founded strong Christian churches, which are not only keeping alive their own spiritual life, but are even reaching out in a truly noble spirit to help their Moslem neighbors to a realization of the message of Christianity.

In Turkey itself the most stupendous changes have taken place, which have added one more crushing blow to the doctrine of "The changeless East." Polygamy has been officially abolished. Divorce can no more be declared at the whim of the husband, but must be made a legal procedure. The church and state are no longer one, and the Moslem clergy, once supreme both in church

and state, are now on the defensive. The veil has forever dropped from the faces of the women, and also the fez and the turban have disappeared. The Arabic alphabet has been abolished by official decree, and the Turks are slowly, and no doubt regretfully, mastering the Roman alphabet and adapting it to the needs of their own language.

The status of the Christian missions in Turkey is at present somewhat uncertain. In Constantinople with its cosmopolitan population, the mission, the colleges, the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. are able to continue their program much as before, though under certain restrictions. In Smyrna and in the interior, where the Christian population has in most places entirely disappeared, all semblance of propaganda must be studiously avoided, and only secular philanthropy and education are permitted. Recently a gifted American teacher in Brusa was tried and condemned by a Turkish court for discussing the teachings of Christ with her Moslem pupils. The value of missionary work carried on under such restrictions is somewhat questionable, although the faithful workers are willing to accept almost any restriction for the time being in the hope of greater freedom coming soon. Seven years of Kemalism, however, has lessened rather than increased the hope for true religious liberty, for in this as in all other respects Angora takes its cue from Moscow, and the most recent actions of the Soviet Government are certainly not along lines of increasing religious tolerance. In the small Soviet Armenian republic the American orphanages have been rapidly outplacing their orphans into the homes of the people, in the hope that the home influences will be able to surround the children with the moral and spiritual atmosphere which official supervision does not permit in the foreign operated institution.

The burning of Smyrna was an important milestone in Near Eastern history. To the Christian world it revealed once more the persecuting and intolerant spirit of

the Turk, which still smoulders, though the fires of Smyrna have long since been extinguished. To the Moslem world it revealed the impotence and sordidness of Christendom, which possessing limitless power and resources was unwilling for selfish reasons to come to the aid of the oppressed Christian nations and establish the future of the Near East upon a just and lasting basis. Lastly, to all evangelical Christians it revealed the solidarity underlying the various branches of the Christian church; old hostilities between Protestant, Gregorian and Greek Orthodox subsided, bitterness disappeared, and the sacrificial work of Western Protestants on behalf of afflicted Christians in the Near East created new bonds of love and sympathy that had never existed before. What the eventual effect on missions in Turkey will be has yet to be seen; mission strategy may call for a redistribution of effort, and abandonment of merely philanthropic work where evangelism is either restricted or prohibited. Howbeit, the seed has been sown these many years among the Turks, the Bible has been translated and circulated among them, they have had the witness of Christians faithful to their Lord even unto death, and nothing will ever satisfy their deepest aspirations, as yet waiting to be kindled, but the faith which hitherto they have endeavored to destroy.

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THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES[1]

Unification in theory, differentiation in practice! This might very well be the conclusion arrived at by those who make a merely cursory acquaintance with the system of education actually existing in the Dutch East Indies, and who are also aware of the endeavors of the Dutch East Indian Government to remove wherever possible, both in legislation and administration, the differentiation between the races. I shall endeavor in a brief elucidation of the principal lines of that system of education to make it clear that unification is not lacking and that the differentiation is a result of the chief requirement of effective education—viz., a sound pedagogical plan.

If the fact is borne in mind that within the extensive territory of the Dutch East Indies numerous native peoples, differing in language, customs and religion, live side by side, and that over that Archipelago are scattered a few hundred thousands of Netherlanders and a few millions of Chinese, it will be easily realized that, for the young children of the various groups at least, one uniform school would be very unsuitable. From the very beginning the necessity has been recognized of teaching these young children in the language which they speak at home. The danger of this principle being disregarded was especially small, because when the Government in the course of last century took the extension of native education energetically in hand it had not at its disposal some thousands of Netherlands teachers by means of whom it could open schools in all parts of the Colonies to instruct the native youth in the Dutch language. On the other hand, much had been done, especially by the

1 Reprinted from "The Asiatic Review," April, 1929, by special permission.

Missions, in studying the native languages, so that the Government could command a sufficient number of competent instructors for the training of teachers, both Europeans and natives, capable of using the native languages as a vehicle.

Here we see immediately a sharp contrast with what, for example, America did in the Philippines, where teaching in the English language soon became the first item on the educational programme.

When, in the beginning of this century, the opening of elementary schools even in the smallest villages of the interior was recognized as essential, in order thus to combat illiteracy, the necessity of teaching in the native languages became even more obvious. This recognition naturally led to the acceptance of a working plan for the opening, within a certain number of years, of tens of thousands of schools with a simple three-year curriculum, where, either gratis or for a small fee, instruction would be given to the children of the *dessa* population—a population, however, which had still to be convinced of the utility of schooling for their children. Such schools could necessarily only be staffed with teachers recruited from the immediate vicinity. Moreover, in the villages these teachers had to act as advisers in many affairs outside the school. For this reason also it was necessary that intellectually and socially they should not stand too high above the inhabitants of the village.[2]

The principle of giving instruction in the native language applies not only to these village-schools, it has also always been observed in native schools in more important towns, usually referred to as standard schools, which in a five-year curriculum go through a more extensive programme and prepare the pupils for various technical schools.[3]

In addition, however, to these schools where instruction is imparted in the vernacular, native and Chinese pupils have always had facilities to obtain instruction in

2 At the end of 1927 the village schools numbered 14,188, attended by 1,018,560.
3 At the end of 1927 these elementary schools numbered 2,621, with 361,669 pupils.

the Dutch language. A thorough knowledge of that language, however, was only attainable for those pupils who were admitted to the schools for Europeans. For the benefit of those who are ignorant of conditions in the Dutch East Indies, it may be useful to mention that, unlike the rule in force in certain other Colonies, the term Europeans includes all the members of any family the head of which is registered as a European. As a result, the "Europeans" include, technically speaking, a great number of persons of mixed blood.

Since, as has already been explained, the principal object in view was not the greatest possible extension of the Dutch language, the admission of native and Chinese pupils to the European schools afforded an adequate solution, as long as the need of such education was confined to a comparatively small number of the non-European part of the population. That need, however, has very rapidly increased in the last few decades. Among the prominent members of that section of Dutch East Indian society, the conviction has gradually gained ground that for an adequate education the knowledge of a European language is indispensable. Further, as a result of the vigorous development of agriculture and industry and of the Government works and services, a demand arose on all sides for native employees, also in places where the knowledge of the local dialect or the Malay language was insufficient. These two factors have brought home the necessity of a speedy extension of Dutch instruction to native and Chinese pupils. At the same time, these circumstances opened an opportunity for embarking upon such an extension without creating the danger that the majority of the pupils would, after finishing school, not be able to find employment compatible with their higher education. Nevertheless, also in the Dutch East Indies nowadays voices can be heard against too rapid an extension, which might lead to the creation of an " educated proletariat."

It would lead me too far here to go into the history

of what the Government has done to meet this problem of supplying the rapidly increasing demand for Dutch instruction. I will only state that the present educational system fully recognizes the important difference between the methods to be followed in teaching pupils in their own language and in a foreign language. For this reason there exist now for primary education in the Dutch language three different types of schools, known as the European, the Dutch-Native, and the Dutch-Chinese schools.[4] These schools have a seven or eight years' curriculum, and prepare the pupils for the secondary schools, to which they are admitted irrespective of race.

It was seen that the unification idea has been realized at a stage where this is considered possible, whilst before that stage is reached a differentiation is observed in accordance with the different groups of the population, but only because of a very pronounced difference in requirements.

This differentiation in the primary schools has also the advantage that the pupils are instructed as far as possible by teachers of their own nationality. These teachers, indeed, can more easily fathom the mentality of the children. It will be readily understood, however, that it is not an easy task for a native or Chinese teacher to teach his pupils in a language not his own, and which in the beginning is for most of his pupils an unknown tongue. The greatest care, therefore, is devoted to the training of these teachers. They are educated in training schools (there are separate schools for natives and Chinese) on the residential system, and with a European principal and a staff almost entirely composed of Europeans. Whilst the European primary school has an exclusively European staff, the Dutch-Native schools have a semi-European, semi-Native staff, and the Dutch-Chinese schools a semi-European, semi-Chinese staff. In order to insure the strict maintenance of the standard of education in the

4 At the end of 1927 the number of these schools was respectively as follows: European schools 267, with 41,766 pupils; Dutch-Native schools 336, with 63,744 pupils; Dutch-Chinese schools 90, with 16,488 pupils.

Dutch language, the control, both in the Dutch-Native and Dutch-Chinese schools, is, with a single exception, in the hands of the Netherlanders.

As already stated, the secondary schools, which form a continuation of the three categories of primary schools, have been unified. The Government was of the opinion that once the difficulties of acquiring the Dutch language had been overcome, there was no further reason for racial differentiation amongst the pupils who, on the contrary, in our times need in every respect association and co-operation. The Government founded, therefore, the General Secondary School, open to all races. I will not deal with the history of this school here, as that would lead me too far.

Besides the General Secondary School, there is in the Dutch East Indies the so-called "Hoogere Burgerschool" (also a secondary school), which is a perfect copy of the type of secondary school generally met with in Holland. This type of school, the disadvantages of which are fairly generally recognized in the Netherlands, has remained, side by side with the General Secondary School, as a school which corresponds directly with the secondary school in Holland, for the benefit of the children of those Netherlanders who, in the course of their colonial career, spend various periods of leave in the Mother Country, or who send their children home to receive an education.

In my opinion, the Dutch East Indies, with the opening of this General Secondary School, has advanced beyond the Mother Country as regards the solution of the educational problem for young people of twelve to eighteen years old. For this reason a brief account of the organization of this school may here be inserted.

This secondary school has a six years' curriculum, and is divided into two sections, each of three years.[5] This division has been made on the theory that after the first three years the time has come to make a choice of a

[5] At the end of 1927 there existed 54 lower sections, with 9,624 pupils. For upper sections see note on p. 379.

profession. The pupil is then old enough to decide whether he wishes to end his schooling and embark on a career with the education which he has received and which is officially testified in a leaving certificate, whether he will learn a trade at some secondary training school or will complete his general education, in order to be afterwards admitted to some University, and if so, what course of study he wishes to follow at that University.

Considered as an institution for affording a complete preparatory education, this first section of the secondary school leads to a valuable certificate, which opens the door to employment in the Government administration and in private offices, where the prospects are good. For the vast majority of girls—who as a rule marry early in the Dutch East Indies—this certificate means the end of their studies.

The continuation of the preparatory studies for the University takes place in the second three years' section of the secondary school. This section is divided into the following three subdivisions, according to the proposed course of study at the University:

(*a*) Oriental Literature, in which special attention is devoted to Oriental languages and history;

(*b*) A Western Classical Section, which includes Latin (for those who intend to take up Law) and Western Literature;

(*c*) Mathematics and Physics, with special study of the exact sciences.[6]

The organization of the educational staff is arranged in accordance with this division into a uniform lower section and a differentiated upper section. In the lower section each class has its own teacher, whilst only a few subjects are entrusted to special teachers. The great advantage of this system is that the class-teacher knows every individual pupil and is acquainted with his personal requirements. In this manner, a gradual transition is obtained from the schoolroom education in the primary

6 At the end of 1927 those upper sections numbered seven, with 694 pupils.

school to that in the various divisions of the upper section, where the instruction is exclusively imparted by special teachers and which makes far heavier demands upon the sense of duty of the pupils.

Whilst the primary schools, with Dutch as the vehicle of instruction, are widely distributed, the secondary schools, which require a staff which is much more difficult to obtain and has to be paid high salaries, are confined to the large towns. Both the upper section schools and the "Hoogere Burgerscholen"[7] exist only in the large towns which are centrally situated.

This system of schools leads up to the Dutch East Indies University, which at present possesses three faculties—viz., Technical Science (at Bandoeng), Law and Medicine (both at Batavia).

We have seen that the central idea of this system of education is primary education in separate schools in accordance with the needs of the various groups of the population; secondary education in mixed schools, which half-way is again divided. This division, however, is not made according to race, but according to the direction of further study, thus preparing the pupils for the various faculties of the University.

The primary schools and the first three years' section of the secondary school prepare the pupils for the industrial training schools. The native schools, with the native language as the vehicle of instruction, train their pupils to act as village school-teachers and teachers in native primary schools, as midwives and nurses, vaccination officials, skilled wood and iron workers, farmhands, sailors and engineers on board ships. The primary schools, using the Dutch language, give instruction in technical and commercial work. Further, there are schools for girls, to instruct them in domestic economy and industries, schools for agricultural workers, for mining, the police force, etc. The first three years' section of the secondary school prepares the pupils for training courses for

7 At the end of 1927 there were 13 of these "Hoogere Burgerscholen," with 2,567 pupils.

teachers, for official administration for the merchant marine, as physicians, agriculturalists, veterinary surgeons, minor officials in the interior, the army, etc.

All those training schools, as well as the various Faculties of the University, are well worth a separate description, but exigencies of space preclude my entering into details. I only wish to point out here that the system is so arranged that the indigenous and the Western primary schools, as well as the secondary schools, give an appropriate preparation for various special schools in the case of all those whose capacities or financial circumstances do not allow of a University education.

I have aimed at giving the principal lines of the Dutch East Indian educational system, and have omitted certain important particulars which might make the description even more complicated than it inevitably must be, in view of the many-sided educational requirements. It will be seen that there are certain fundamental differences in education from some other colonies.

Where the reader, after the foregoing exposition, discovers also in the educational system the idea of unification wherever possible and differentiation only when the divergent needs of the various groups of the population render it imperative, he should reflect that this is merely the realization of the unification idea which is the guiding star of the Dutch East Indian colonial policy.

In the carrying out of the educational part of this policy, the difficulties of the present complicated political position make themselves felt also in the Dutch East Indies. A period of apathy has been followed by an overwhelming desire for education, especially Western education, because the native regards this as necessary if he is to gain a position equal to that of the Westerner. In two respects, a change is now perceptible. On the one hand, voices are heard in native circles in favor of opening schools of their own and no longer passively accepting what is provided by the Government and by corporations under Western auspices. On the other hand, the

complaint is heard that, whilst Western education gives the native a certain amount of book knowledge, it makes him a stranger to his own culture without giving him any equivalent in return.

Here we have an example of the difficulties which are making themselves felt everywhere throughout the East, both in countries with a national Government and in the Colonies. The Western stream is washing away much that for the East constituted a firm rock, whilst so far nothing has been found to replace what has been lost. Whilst for the moment this may result in estrangement between the races, we should reflect that just that necessity for self-help which the East is now experiencing will bring to its consciousness the fact that East and West cannot dispense with each other. On the Government rests the difficult but inspiring task of paving the way for this cooperation, in which education plays such an important part.

J. F. W. VAN DER MEULEN.

AL HALLAJ, SAINT AND MARTYR[1]

Abu Abdullah al Husain ibn Mansur al Hallaj was born at Baida, not far from the beautiful city of Shiraz in the province of Fars in South Persia. It was this same Baida which, later, produced al-Baidawi, the commentator on the Koran. The date of Hallaj's birth is about 858 A. D., in the middle of the century which divides Charlemagne from Alfred the Great. His grandfather was a Zoroastrian, but Husain himself was born into the faith of Islam, which had been adopted by his father. It is possible, however, that the faith of his grandfather may have influenced Hallaj's views; at any rate later centuries looked askance at such heathen ancestry, and credited him instead with a Qurashite genealogy, going back to the standard-bearer of Mohammed.

Hallaj spent his childhood at Wâsit, an Arab centre and a military post midway between the camp cities of Basrah and Kufa. Thus he never learnt colloquial Persian, though himself of Persian origin. Wâsit is on the Tigris, and much traffic must have passed up and down the river before his childish eyes, but he seems to have been little affected by it. Indeed he early became contemplative, and the phenomena of the world around him played little part in his mystical experiences. Not his the Platonic type of mysticism which ascends from the vision of the beauties of this world to the contemplation of the very soul and being of Beauty in the ideal world of the spirit. He passed, I believe, at times into the heavenly places, but his theology, when he comes to write it, is based on strange texts from the Koran, and

1 Most of this lecture is taken from Professor Louis Massignon's book "La Passion d'al-Hallaj Martyr Mystique de l'Islam," Vol. I, to the author of which all students of Hallaj owe a debt of gratitude.

does not spring from the birds of the air, the flowers of the field, or the foxes which run among the hills.

At the age of sixteen Husain ibn Mansur left his home and attached himself as servant and disciple (after the manner of the time) to a Sheikh at Tostar in the province of Ahwaz. The name of this Sheikh was Sahl al-Tostari, and with him Husain lived for two years. On a young man of quick intelligence, powerful imagination and ardent temperament the influence of his first teacher is bound to leave a marked impression, so it will be worth our while to stop a moment and consider what manner of man this Sahl was, and what the character of his teaching.

Let me remind you that at the time Husain went to al-Tostari the great dispute was raging between the Mu'tazilites or philosophers on the one hand and the orthodox theologians of Islam on the other. This dispute centered round the subjects of human free will and the creation or uncreatedness of the Koran. The Mu'tazilites maintained that man had free will, and that the Koran was created, while the orthodox theologians refused to allow any modification of the divine omnipotence, and also asserted that the Koran, inasmuch as it was the word of God, must be eternal like its Author. On these two points Sahl al-Tostari, like other Sufis of his time, was orthodox. Indeed the early Sufis were all followers of tradition and the *sunnah* of the Prophet. They kept the law with an almost Pharisaical strictness; the Koran was the only book for reading and meditation, and the interpretation followed was rigidly traditional.

But Sahl was a man both of religious temperament and independent mind. An uncle had taught him to say each evening, " God is with me; God sees me; God is my witness." In theology, while maintaining the supreme omnipotence of God, he taught that man must examine and judge the stimuli which come to him from without, and that the effort to know and carry out the law is divinely implanted. Thus he used his common (or re-

ligious) sense to modify the rigidity of his theology. This effort on man's part is concerned also with the inner life. The first act in controlling inner impulses is repentance. He was the first in Islam to affirm that repentance is a *necessary* duty; an affirmation which caused him later to be banished to Basrah. His influence over Hallaj is shown by the fact that Hallaj accompanied him in his exile, and that Hallaj also laid great stress on repentance.

Sahl defined faith to be the ensemble of man's religious attitude towards God. In perfection it gives man somehow or other possession of the Divine Essence. It was left to Hallaj to attempt to define the manner of this union with God.

After two years Husain removed to Baghdad, in order to find a Sheikh named 'Amru ibn 'Othman al-Makki. This 'Amru had been a pupil of the great Bukhari (the codifier of traditions), and was at this time understudy to the famous Sufi, al Junaid. With him Husain lived for eighteen months until his marriage, against al-Makki's wishes, with the daughter of Junaid's secretary. The breach with al-Makki threw Hallaj more into the society of Junaid, the man who had the greatest influence of any upon him.

In those days there were no Dervish orders, no rite of initiation, no common rule of life. The Sheikh was a kind of unofficial don. His lectures were private, but not secret. Round him gathered a body of disciples, who were also his servants. Their mode of life was poor, sober, and inclined to asceticism. In Junaid's case he generally submitted them to a severe discipline before admitting them to the esoteric side of his teaching. An account of his treatment of al-Shibli, a contemporary of Hallaj, is given in Nicholson's "Mystics of Islam." Such was the life Hallaj then lived.

Junaid's theology goes back to the Koranic principle of the *Mithaq,* or covenant, when the spirits swore fidelity to God before He created their bodies. All the indi-

vidual reality of a man is summed up in this first appearance of his essence—still a simple divine idea—face to face with the divine Essence itself. On that day all is determined, predestined. Then God chooses His elect. God separates Himself from other men in them. His divinity is laid bare for them. And it is to this primordial appearance that God is leading back His elect across the transitory existence of this world.

For twenty years Hallaj endured this severe doctrine of reabsorption, the while he pushed to the extreme his bodily and mental self-mortification. If finally he quitted this school of gradual and methodical annihilation, it was because he felt he had something real to say and to do.

One incident must be mentioned before we pass on to the years of his active ministry. It was in 264 A. H. that he became a disciple of Junaid. About 282 A. H., he made his first pilgrimage to Mecca. There he remained for a whole year in the court of the mosque without moving from his place except for the ritual purification and the *tawâf*. He paid no attention either to sun or rain. They brought him each day at the hour of the evening prayer a cruse of water and a hard biscuit such as they make in Mecca; he would take four bites from the edge of the biscuit and drink a couple of draughts of water, one before and the other after eating; then he would place the rest of the biscuit on the top of the cruse of water and they would bring it again the next day.

It was at Mecca that he broke finally with al-Makki. They were walking together in the street one day when al-Makki began to recite the Koran. Hallaj listened to him, and then said, "I could compose the like of that," whereupon al-Makki cursed him and refused to see him again.

The picture we have of Hallaj at this time is not that of a man under any external stimulus, whether intellectual or political or social, but rather that of one wrapt up in his own psychical experiences. He felt himself to be the

subject of divine favors, the recipient of divine messages; he understood (so he thought) from his own experience what must have passed in the soul of Mohammed when he received the revelation of the Koran; he discovered a criterion for distinguishing between conflicting traditions, namely, which of them conformed to his own mystical experiences. In all this he had no support from those around him. To these divine messages and favors they attached no significance or importance. "Whatever the heart may imagine or the spirit think that it sees of sweetness, joy, light, beauty, personality or phantom, God is not that—He is the most glorious, the most great, the sublime," said al-Makki.

On Hallaj's return from Mecca, where had occurred the rupture with al-Makki, there followed the break with al-Junaid. The point at issue between them was the nature of the mystical experience. Junaid regarded it as simply a gift from God, not in any sense a communion of the human spirit with the Divine; for such communion would bring God into touch with the created, the contingent, and so impair His transcendence. But Hallaj felt that such doctrine gave no adequate explanation of his own experiences. While maintaining the transcendence of God, he felt assured that nevertheless there was a state of mystical union, wherein the saint tasted and experienced God and came into contact with the pure divine Essence.

Lest you cast such language aside as an instance of purely Oriental exaggeration, let me put beside it a quotation from St. John of the Cross. Describing the third stage of the mystic's path he says: "In it the soul seems to be God rather than itself, and indeed is God by participation, though in reality preserving its own natural substance as distinct from God as it did before, although transformed in Him."

We come now to the years of Hallaj's apostolate. Under the influence of Junaid he had become a Sufi, and adopted their woolen frock; now he discards it, leaves

Baghdad for Tostar, and takes to public preaching. The burden of his message was the necessity of repentance, offering of self to God in prayer, and renunciation of the world, the reality of God's visitation of His saints, the rewards laid up for those who give up the world for Him, the grace and pity God sheds on them. Further he declared the imminence of the Day of Judgment, when the two thrones would be set up in heaven and on earth, and Jesus on that day would be the Seal of the saints chosen to shed abroad in the name of the Eternal King the light of the glory of the Divine Essence. His own life of mortification and renunciation was a living example of his message. His servant relates that he never rested on cushions nor slept lying down. He remained upright all night; if his eyes closed he rested in a crouching attitude and fell asleep for a moment. Hallaj himself said he had heard Mohammed's saying, "The men who have suffered most have been the prophets; then the saints; I wish to suffer with them."

In his preaching Hallaj was not an innovator, nor did he engage in politics. He always sought to reconcile his mystical experiences with the Sunnite tradition. But his life now was lived among men of the world whom he sought to convert. He endeavored to keep *au fait* with the ideas of his time. He studied translations of the Greek philosophers, including medicine and alchemy. He attached himself to men famous rather for their learning or social reforms than for their orthodoxy.

After some two years spent at Tostar, Hallaj went off on a preaching tour in Khorasan. There he met with considerable success, not only with the common people but also in high quarters.

This was followed by a visit to India, probably to Gujrat. There he made converts among three castes, the carders, the herdsmen and the shepherds, and to this day the inhabitants of two villages call themselves Mansuris.

From Gujrat Hallaj passed north by way of Kashmir into Khorasan on a second visit, thence through Turkestan

on to the borders of China, Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. It is noteworthy that during the fifteen years after his visit, the first Moslem Turkish realm was founded. The Turks still preserve the cult of his memory, and record the fact that he was the first to preach Islam in their country without arms.

Numerous stories are told of miracles wrought by Hallaj. These can not be dismissed with the lightheartedness appropriate to most of the stories of Sufi miracles. In the first place they are not the embellishments of later legend, but are inseparable from his biography as recorded by his contemporaries. They were the subject of a pamphlet by Awariji before Hallaj's death. They figure in all the most primitive texts. They provoked doctrinal discussion and new theories of miracle both among Sufis and theologians. Some said they were unreal, mere charlatanism; others that they were the work of the devil; others that they were gifts from God; while Hallaj himself maintained that they were the mark of a mystical union with the divine will and used them to attract converts. We shall see later how this question entered into the charges against him.

About 294 A. H., Hallaj made a third pilgrimage to Mecca, where he spent two years in solitude. It seems that it was there he became conscious of drawing to the end of the perfect life and the goal of mystical theology. He prays during his last night-watch as follows: "It is Thou who hast assigned to this actual witness of Thy divine Essence (i. e., himself) a certain *ipseity,* so that he can speak of Thee in the first person . . . and it is Thou who hast taken my essence to serve Thee as a symbol amongst men—when, while I am manifested in the last of my states, Thou hast come to use it to proclaim my Essence (that is, Thee, my creator) through my essence (me)." That is, Hallaj feels so united with God that his words and actions are simply the words and actions of God working through him. In another place he says:

"Thy spirit is mingled in my spirit as wine is mingled with pure water. When anything touches Thee it touches me. Lo! in every case Thou art I."

In this final stage the saint is higher than a prophet, for the prophet has only an external mission to fulfill, and is delegated with a law to be kept, whereas the saint can at all times interpret directly the will of God and shares in the Divine Nature.

Hallaj's particular opponents, the Shi'ites or Imamites, noted three stages in his deplorable career, as they felt it to be:

(1) Public preaching—a function reserved to the delegate of the Imam.

(2) Issuing rules for conduct—reserved to the Imam himself.

(3) (After his last pilgrimage) he issues commands as God—a right not even delegated to the prophets.

On his return to Baghdad Hallaj built himself a house on the right bank of the Tigris in the quarter of the Tostarin. There he spent his life in prayer and preaching. His audiences were for the most part the ordinary citizens, to whom he spoke in the market or at the doors of mosques in a reasoned yet impromptu form of discourse—mainly on the subjects of repentance and union with God.

The accounts of Hallaj's life are so full that I have thought it best not to attempt either to master or to interpret his philosophy. Even Massignon says that some of it he has not fully understood. But a little must be said about it in order to explain the attitude of Hallaj's contemporaries towards him. More than fifty years ago Von Kremer declared that at the end of the third century "Moslem asceticism passed over into the pantheistic religious enthusiasm that forms the real essence of later Sufism," and he intimates that it was Hallaj who gave it the impulse in this direction. But Hallaj was not a pantheist—far from it. He was much less so than Junaid even. Let us look at the prayer he offered during his last pilgrimage on Mount Ararat before the assembled pilgrims:

"O Glorious King, I know Thee to be transcendent, I acclaim Thee above all the *tasabih* of those who have cried, 'Glory to Thee,' above all the *tahalil* of those who have declared 'There is no God but the God,' above all the concepts of those who have conceived of Thee! O my God, Thou knowest me to be powerless to offer to Thee the offering of thanks which is Thy due. Come then into me, Thyself to thank Thyself. That is the true offering of thanks, there is none other."

In this prayer there is no doubt of Hallaj's belief in the transcendence of God. How different his language is from that, say, of 'Attar: "God in His essence equals the universe; God equals the Koran, the Universe equals the verses of the Koran."

But it is equally clear that Hallaj has also a doctrine of immanence. He believes that God vouchsafes His presence to holy souls, sanctified by the rites of religion; that the state of trance or ecstasy is not the highest, but beyond it is the state of *Sahu,* of permanent wakeful union with God. Compare the saying of Jesus, "If any man love me, he will keep my word; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him." In this last and final union (*'ain al jami'* as Hallaj calls it) God does not take the place of the soul in man, as other Sufis taught, but man retains control of all his faculties, which now have been entirely sanctified and deified. The human personality is not destroyed or attenuated, but continues in all its fulness, perfected and consecrated. One further point. In this union of the saint with God, the union is effected with the Essence of God, according to Hallaj, not with one of His attributes. The whole doctrine goes by the name of *hulūl*—Indwelling.

In concluding the account of Hallaj's theology I quote a passage from Nicholson's "The Idea of Personality in Sufism," which gives the best account of it I know in English, (pp. 29–31): "We may begin by asking, 'What did Hallaj mean when he said *Ana 'l-Haqq?'* The expression *al-Haqq* is commonly used by Sufis to denote the Creator, as opposed to *al-khalq,* the creatures, and there is no doubt that it bears this signification here: *Ana 'l-*

Haqq, 'I am the Creative Truth,' as Massignon renders it."

"Hallaj," he says, "while affirming the transcendence of the idea of God, did not at all conceive it as being inaccessible to man. From the old Jewish and Christian tradition that God created man in His own image Hallaj deduced a doctrine of creation, which had its counterpart in a doctrine of deification: the deified man finds in himself, by means of (a mystical) asceticism, the reality of the divine image which God has imprinted on him. We possess several Hallajian fragments that leave no doubt as to this. In the longest, Hallaj explains the matter thus: Before all things, before the creation, before His knowledge of the creation, God in His unity was holding an ineffable discourse with Himself and contemplating the splendor of His essence in itself. That pure simplicity of His self-admiration is Love. . . . Then God, by His essence, in His essence, desired to project out of Himself His supreme joy, that Love in aloneness, that He might behold it and speak to it. He looked in eternity and brought forth from non-existence an image, an image of Himself, endowed with all His attributes and all His names: Adam. The Divine look made that form to be His image unto everlasting. God saluted it, glorified it, chose it, and inasmuch as He manifested Himself by it and in it, that created form became *Huwa, Huwa,* He, He!"

The first of the following verses by Hallaj refers to Adam, the second is said to refer to Jesus:

"Glory to God who revealed in His humanity the secret of His radiant divinity,
And then appeared to His creatures in the shape of one who eats and drinks."

Here, you will notice, we have the doctrine of two natures in God—a divine nature (*lahut*) and a human nature (*nasut*). These terms are borrowed from Syrian Christianity, which uses them to denote the two natures of Christ. Further, Hallaj in describing the union of the *lahut* with the *nasut*—or, as he generally says, of the divine Spirit with the human spirit—employs the term *hulūl;* and *hulūl* is a word associated, in Moslem minds, with the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. In his poems his own spirit and the divine Spirit appear as lovers conversing with each other and most intimately united.

"I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I,
We are two spirits dwelling in one body.
If thou seest me, thou seest Him,
And if thou seest Him, thou seest us both."

While Hallaj asserted the pre-existence of Mohammed as the Light from which all prophecy emanates, it is not Mohammed but Jesus in whom he finds the perfect type of the "deified man," whose personality is not destroyed, but transfigured and essentialised, so that he stands forth as the personal witness and representative of God, revealing from within himself al-Haqq, the Creator through whom he exists, the Creative Truth in whom he has all his being.

It is not surprising that Hallaj drew upon himself the opposition of the religious leaders of his day. Possibly he was not more presumptuous or blasphemous than other Sufis, even of his own time. Al-Junaid is reported to have said, " I am God, there is no god but me; therefore worship me." But Junaid was of a more pliant clay than Hallaj. When the Government recommended him to give up his Sufi lecturing and stick to Law, he complied. At a later day also Abu Sa'ad ibn Abi-l Khair cried aloud, "There is nothing in this coat but Allah"—a remark erroneously attributed to Hallaj in Arab lands. But in his day Islam was not passing through such a theological crisis as in the days of Hallaj, and had become more used to Sufi extravagancies and more tolerant of their ways.

About 297 A. H., Hallaj was charged with claiming Divine powers—*Da'wat al-rububiya.* The power behind the throne was in the hands of an Imamite family, the Banu Nawbakht. As soon as Hallaj came into favor at Court, Abu Sahl ibn Nawbakht decided to act against him.

In Islam it is not enough to convict a man of heresy in order to secure his excommunication. If he knows the Koran, recites the *Shahada* and takes part in the prayers and rites, it is difficult to expel him, except for political reasons. Thus there were two necessary steps in Hallaj's condemnation—to secure the *Ijma'* of the jurisconsults that he was a *kafir* (heretic), and to persuade the State that he was a *zandîq* (or free-thinker, whose heresy was a danger to the State). Condemnation for *zandaqa*

would entail two consequences—loss of property and life, and eternal damnation; but the latter depended on the *Ijmaʿ* of Islam, and was not given in Hallaj's case. In spite of a lack of unanimity among the leading jurisconsults, the Wazir decided to arrest Hallaj and proceed with his case. Hallaj, however, escaped. After about a year in hiding he was discovered, rather by chance, at Sous in Ahwaz, where he was again arrested and sent to Baghdad.

In 301 A. H., Hallaj was led into Baghdad mounted on a camel, followed by his servant and brother-in-law, also on camels, whilst a crier proclaimed, "Here is one of the agents of the Qarmatians." The new Wazir, Ibn 'Isa, submitted him to a general examination, but was unable to verify the charges of *zandaqa,* magic, or pretension to being a prophet, which were laid against him. The case resulted in Hallaj being condemned to have his head shaved, to be beaten with the flat of a sabre, and to be put in pillory on the East bank of the Tigris for Wednesday and Thursday and on the West bank for Friday and Saturday, while the crier repeated the charge of his being one of the missionaries of the Qarmatians, a sect of which the inhabitants of Baghdad stood in great dread. Hallaj then returned to prison where he remained for eight years seven months and eight days.

No detailed information is available of Hallaj's life in prison. He prayed much and fasted much, and observed all the rules of the Sunnite tradition. This meritorious conduct won him many friends even in high quarters. In that year the Chamberlain, Nasr al-Qushuri, obtained leave from the Khalifa to bring Hallaj to the palace and to build a separate cell for him in the prison there. About this time the Khalifa fell sick. The Chamberlain consulted Hallaj, who asked permission to go to see the Khalifa. This being granted, he laid his hands on the part affected and recited several verses. The malady disappeared. Hallaj also cured the Khalifa's mother of a similar complaint. Meanwhile his

condition in prison was much ameliorated. He was no longer chained, and was allowed to receive visitors.

The favor thus won at Court moved his opponents to action. A certain Awājirī published a pamphlet entitled "The Tricks of Hallaj." This caused such a commotion that the Khalifa instructed the Wazir's assistant to investigate the case. The hand pulling the strings seems to have been that of Hāmid the Wazir, who presently took up the case himself with an almost insensate hatred. In his eyes Hallaj was merely a Satanic magician, against whom all means were legitimate. He secured charge of Hallaj's person, questioned him daily, arrested his disciples and seized his correspondence. Finally one day he discovered matter for a definite charge. There were brought to him some note-books of Hallaj in which he had written that

"A man, when he wishes to accomplish the legal pilgrimage, has the right to install himself in a part of his house, to set up a *mihrab* under certain conditions enumerated, to purify himself, to put on the pilgrimage garb, to say this, do that, pray thus, recite such and such a portion of the Koran, proceed in this part of his house in such and such a manner, pronounce the *Subhan Allah* according to a certain fashion, accompanying it with certain pious actions (which he—Hallaj —enumerated in detail); all this, when accomplished, dispenses him from the legal obligation of the pilgrimage to the Sacred House of God."

Ibn 'Ayyash, the recorder of this story, adds that one of the leaders of the sect of the Hallajiya told him that Hallaj had told it to him as a tradition which he had received from the 'Alids, and that among them this rule does not dispense on all occasions from making the pilgrimage, but is only a substitute for it when a man can not make the journey owing to poverty, some impediment or sickness. Moreover Hallaj himself, when questioned, declared it was only a tradition which he had reported as he had heard it.

The first consultation of the judges did not produce enough evidence to convict the prisoner. When Hamid next applied to the two leading judges for *fatwas,* Abu Omar replied that he was worthy of death, while Ibn Bahlul (the senior judge) said that if Hallaj quoted the

statement about an alternative to the pilgrimage as a tradition merely and did not declare his own faith in it, then the case fell to the ground. Baulked for the moment, Hamid waited for a day when Ibn Bahlul was absent. The accusation against Hallaj was now more general, namely that he allowed alternatives to all five of the duties obligatory for a Moslem—fasting, prayer, alms, the pilgrimage, confession of the faith. Again Hallaj protested that the dispensation did not originate from him, but that he got it from Hasan al-Basri, one of the eight ascetics among the Companions of the Prophet. One story of the scene runs as follows. The jurists and judges having been assembled, Hamid asks Hallaj, "Do you know this work?" "It is the book of Traditions of Hasan al-Basri," replies Hallaj. Hamid, "Do you not follow the prescriptions it contains?" Hallaj, "Certainly, I follow the prescriptions of the book in the worship I render unto God." Then the judge Abu 'Omar cried, "But this book is the destruction of the laws of Islam;" and he began his sentence, which ended with the words, "O thou whose blood ought to be shed without guilt!" Then he signed the formula, "His blood ought to be shed"; the jurists followed suit, and issued the *fatwa* condemning him to death.

The *fatwa* was taken to the Khalifa al Muqtadir-bi'llah for confirmation and declaration of the mode of death. He ordered Hallaj to be beaten with one thousand stripes, and if he did not die under them, his head to be cut off. Hamid transmitted the sentence as follows: to be beaten with one thousand stripes; if he died, his head to be cut off; if he did not die, first a hand to be cut off, then a foot, then the other hand, and then the other foot; the body to be burnt; the head to be exposed at the bridge over the Tigris.

We come now to the events of Hallaj's last night on earth, his scourging and crucifixion. Those I shall relate as recorded by contemporaries, who were either eye-witnesses or obtained their information from eye-witnesses.

When the night came, on the morrow of which Hallaj was to be put to death, he arose to pray the appointed prayers. His prayer finished, he ceased not to repeat *makr, makr* (the ruse according to the Koran, employed by God to deceive Satan, and to make Jews and Christians believe that He had allowed Jesus really to be crucified). Then after the greater part of the night had elapsed and he had remained silent a long time he cried, "It is true! It is true!" (that he would be executed) and he got up, dressed in order to be ready, extended his hands, his face turned in the direction of the Kaaba, and spoke aloud. Of what he said the following is part: "We are here to serve Thee as a witness. It is in Thy grace that we come to seek for refuge, and in the splendor of Thy glory to seek for light; so that Thou mayest make to appear that which Thou wishest, in Thy sublime essence and by Thy decree. It is Thou who art in heaven God, and on earth God. It is Thou who wilt come to shine visibly (on earth) when Thou willest it, as Thou hast caused Thy decree to shine (in heaven before the angels) under the image of the 'Most beautiful form' (Adam); and in this form is the Spirit which gives knowledge, eloquence and free power. . . ." Then he continues in much the same strain as his prayer at Mecca, proclaiming his union with God, and concludes, "How comes it then that now I am arrested, imprisoned, exposed to death, to be placed on a gibbet, burnt, my ashes cast on the waves of the flood?"

Several persons that night asked Hallaj for a last farewell word of advice. To all he replied in the same strain: "Conquer thyself, or thyself will conquer thee."

In the morning of Tuesday, 24 dhu 'l Qa'ada 309 (= March 26, 922 A. D.) Hallaj was led out on to the esplanade in front of the Prefecture. Abu al Hasan al Holwani writes, "He was brought out of prison tied and chained, but he smiled, and I said to him: 'Master, whence comes to thee this joyful mood?' 'From the

caresses of His beauty,' he replied, 'seeing they attract those who desire Union.' Then he recited:

'He who invites me, lest he seem to wrong me,
Has caused me to drink from the cup himself drank from,
E'en as a host who entertains a guest.
Then, when the cup has passed along the board,
Forth he brings the mat of execution and the sword.
Thus it befalls him who dares to drink
Wine with the Lion in torrid Tammuz.'"

Ibrahim ibn Fātik, Hallaj's servant, relates as follows:

"When Husain ibn Mansur al-Hallaj was brought to be crucified, and saw the cross and the nails, he laughed so greatly and violently that tears flowed from his eyes. Then he turned to the people, and seeing Shibli among them said to him, 'O Abu Bakr, hast thou thy prayer-carpet with thee?' Shibli answered, 'Yes, O Sheikh!' Hallaj bade him spread it out, which he did. Then Hallaj stepped forward and prayed two *rak'as* on it, and I was near to him. In the first *rak'a* he recited the Fatiha and a verse of the Koran, namely:

"'Every soul shall taste of death. Ye shall be given your full rewards on the day of Resurrection, and whoso shall be put far from Hell-fire and caused to enter Paradise, happy is he! The present life is but the goods of vanity.'

In the second *rak'a* he recited the Fatiha and a verse of the Koran, namely:

"'We will surely try thee with somewhat of fear and hunger and loss of wealth and lives and fruits. And bring a message of joy unto the patients who say, when an affliction befalls them, "Lo, we belong to God, and to Him shall we return." Those are they upon whom are blessing from their Lord and mercy, and those are in the right way.'

"And when he had finished, he uttered a prayer of which I remember only these words:

"'. . . O Lord, I beseech Thee to make me thankful for the grace Thou hast bestowed upon me in concealing from the eyes of other men what Thou hast revealed to me of the splendors of Thy radiant countenance which is without a form, and in making it lawful for me to behold the mysteries of Thy inmost conscience which Thou hast made unlawful for other men. And these Thy servants who are gathered to slay me, in zeal for Thy religion and in desire to win Thy favor, pardon them and have mercy upon them; for verily if Thou hadst revealed to them that which Thou hast revealed to me, they would not have done what they have done; and if Thou hadst hidden from me

that which Thou hast hidden from them, I should not have suffered this tribulation. Glory unto Thee in whatsoever Thou doest, and glory unto Thee in whatsoever Thou willest!'

"Then he remained silent for a time, communing with his Lord, until Abu'l-Harith, the executioner, went and smote him on the cheek, breaking his nose with the blow, so that the blood gushed out."

A great crowd collected at the place of execution. The official account says that he was beaten with a thousand stripes, well-counted, without his crying "Enough" or "Ah." He only said to the Prefect of police after the six hundredth blow, "Let me speak to you, I have some good news to tell you, which would be as good for the Khalifa as the capture of Constantinople." "They have already warned me," said the Prefect, "that you would say that and much more besides, but we can not interrupt the blows which you must receive." Another version records that after each blow Hallaj said the word *"Ahad, Ahad,"* i. e., God is One.

The blows having been administered, they cut off one hand, then a foot, then the other hand, then the other foot, crosswise. After that he was crucified. One who stood by the gibbet reports that he prayed as follows: "O my God, I come to enter now into the home of my desires that I may contemplate Thy marvels! My God, since Thou showest Thy love even to those who do Thee wrong, how is it that Thou dost not show it to this one who is suffering wrong in Thee?"

As evening fell the authority came from the Khalifa to take Hallaj down from the cross, but the officer of the royal guard said it was late and they had better leave him till the morrow. When the morning came they took him down, and led him forward to behead him. At this point he cried with a loud voice, "The goal of the ecstatic is the Only One alone by Himself." Then he recited from the Koran, "Those who believe not in the last Hour are carried away by it in haste, but those who believe in it await it in reverent fear, for they know that it is the Truth." These were his last words. He was then be-

headed; his body was wrapped in a mat of rushes, on which was poured petrol, and burnt. Finally his ashes were carried aloft to a minaret so that the winds might scatter them. Or, according to the official version, they were thrown into the Tigris. The head remained exposed for two days on the bridge in Baghdad, after which it was carried to Khorasan, where it was paraded from province to province.

Such was the death of this remarkable man—a death which, even more than his teaching, has left in Islam the memory of a strong moral personality, and has become the inspiration of poets and the type of beauty and love in popular legend.

The master had been slain with every accompaniment of cruelty; what of his disciples? Five of them were put to death. The primitive sect was outlawed and harried practically to extinction. Hallaj's books were proscribed. Yet both in Ahwaz and Khorasan a following continued for some time. In the latter a certain Faris wrote a treatise upholding Hallaj's doctrine of *Hulūl,* and it was there that Ghazali nearly two centuries later learned to revere his memory. Even in Baghdad Hallajism had sent down roots, and about the year 430 A. H. a Sufi, speaking in the name of four thousand members of the sect in Iraq, condemned Faris's *Hululi* exposition of the doctrine of their master. Finally his followers were absorbed in the Qadariya Order.

What has been the verdict of Islam on Hallaj? The Theologians and Jurists have for the most part condemned him. For this we can not blame them. Hallaj has no place in orthodox Islam. As the poet Hafiz says, "That which Hallaj sings, ask not a Shafi'i (i. e., *faqih*) its meaning." But Islam has never been quite happy over his condemnation. It has always had an uneasy feeling that in executing a heretic they were crowning a saint with a martyr's crown.

When we turn to the Sufis, we find a gradual development of his canonization. Hallaj's contemporaries re-

garded him as a renegade, because he had cast off the Sufi garb. For fifty years after his death the general opinion was that he was a charlatan, a wandering monk, a man of proud and ungovernable spirit, with an imagination exalted and deranged, impious and a misbeliever. Later they took to using his maxims, his verses, his example—without mentioning his name. Finally from the sixth century A. H. no Moslem mystic condemned Hallaj. The general line taken was that he was right in his teaching, but that he ought not to have published abroad the secrets of Sufism, a proceeding for which he deserved to be put to death. It must be remembered that later Sufis left out many of the distinctive features of Hallaj's doctrine. They discarded the term *Hulūl,* and they replaced his view of the union of the human soul with God by a doctrine of monism, in which all created things, including the souls of men, are merely mirrors reflecting one or other of the attributes of God.

As early as 400 A. H., Abu Sa'ad ibn Abi-l Khair writes of Hallaj: "This reflector of the spirits, this light of lights, Husain ibn Mansur! He had in fulness the grace divine. No one in his time in East or West possessed so large a portion of it as he."

Later the Persian poet 'Attar wrote a work of 45,000 verses on the subject of the search for and consummation of mystical union with God, in which he took Hallaj as his hero, and attempts to show how Hallaj attained to mystical union by realising experientially all the superhuman acts which God has given His prophets the power to perform.

And we, what are we to say of this Moslem Mystic? Let us summarize once more his doctrine. The foundation was repentance, abandonment of the world, and self-oblation to God. Its summit was mystical union with God through love. In this union the personality of the saint persists, separate from the personality of God. There is no absorption, no pantheism. On the other hand,

love to God is really God loving Himself. Union is effected by the indwelling of God in man.

Here indeed is teaching almost indistinguishable from Christian teaching. Abandonment of the world is a matter of times and circumstances, but repentance and oblation are demanded of every Christian. Again, love, to be love, demands the existence of two parties. It is, says Nettleship, "the consciousness of survival in the act of self-sacrifice." But the source of all love is God. It is only through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit that we can love God, so that love to God is indeed God loving Himself. The Christian, however, can go a step further than Hallaj; for while for the latter the only method of participation in the Divine life is by means of mysticism, the former has also the provision of the sacraments, thereby extending the gift to a much wider company.

But what of Hallaj's miracles, and the charges of pride and charlatanism? These charges are made by contemporaries, and I cannot help feeling that Hallaj had a weakness for display and playing to the gallery. Three days after his execution his servant, Ibn Fâtik, told Hallaj's son that he had had a dream, in which he saw the Lord of Glory and asked Him what Hallaj had done to merit such a fate. The Lord replied, "I revealed to him the spiritual reality of the world, but he has carried on a propaganda for his own personal aggrandisement." Moreover, the character of the miracles attributed to him appears somewhat trivial, and must be judged in conjunction with his teaching, his prayers and the death which sealed his life.

A missionary of attractive appearance and persuasive tongue, a mystic consumed with love for God, who scaled the dizziest heights of mysticism, a martyr of heroic fortitude, perhaps also a worker of miracles; such was al Husain ibn Mansur al Hallaj. Missionary, mystic, martyr, canonized by his own church, he is one of the great links between Islam and Christianity.

Jerusalem. O. H. THOMPSON.

THE MOSLEM MIND AND THE GOSPEL IN CHINA

Between Kashgar and Canton, on Chinese soil, live Moslems of six racial strains. The Persian, Arab and Afghan are here; the Turk, the Ch'anteo from Urumchi and the Samarkandi from Kansu Salar land; the Mongol, the "East Country" Moslem of Uigur descent; and lastly the pure son of Han. In general, these represent six occupations. (1) Military; (2) "Ulama", learned in Arabic, Persian or Turkish; (3) Scholars (in Chinese); (4) Farmers; (5) Tradespeople, peddlers, horse, cattle and sheep dealers, butchers, innkeepers, etc.; (6) Laborers, artisans, raftsmen, muleteers, camelteers, etc.

If race and occupation presented varying attitudes of mind to the Gospel, such a conglomeration would make a general résumé impossible. The fact is, however, that most Chinese Moslems react to the Gospel in certain well-defined ways. Occasionally Moslems will admit that they know nothing about the Christian Scriptures, but most of them think that they do know. A certain Ahong once entered a Christian guest room, and glancing at the Sunday School lesson pictures on the walls muttered, again and again, between his teeth, "God's likeness, God's likeness," then with beard high in the air strode out, ignoring all explanations. Thus, much prejudice is backed by ignorance, and, in general, most Chinese Moslems, unless enlightened by the Truth, may be classified with that one in the well known Persian proverb: "Whoever knows not and knows not that he knows not will remain forever in compound ignorance." Herein lies the difficulty and the supreme call to the Christian worker.

The Moslem in China will usually hide his or her real attitude behind a camouflage. This may be argu-

ment, complacency, surprise, fear, curiosity or willingness to hear. Piercing through this exterior is what gives zest to every conversation with a Moslem on religious subjects. Just here is where the Sword of the Spirit is indispensable, for what besides the Word of God is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart? When by the aid of the Holy Spirit this camouflage is pierced, there will usually be found one of the six following mental attitudes towards the Gospel:

1. Bigotry. This attitude often manifests itself in argument. The Gospel and its messenger are treated with scorn. It appears when Moslems feel themselves at a disadvantage, as when Honan-Chili leaders in 1917 sent their manifesto to Kansu warning against Dr. Zwemer. It also flares up when a Moslem becomes a Christian, as in Shantung where Moslems threatened to burn certain mission premises where a Moslem had heard the Gospel and been baptized. This widespread attitude, discouraging as it is, is not devoid of hope. One case will be mentioned. A Kansu Mulla after several hours of loud, bigoted denunciation of the Gospel, after a few days returned, greatly changed, and thereafter came, as meek as a lamb, to study thoroughly the Christian message. The teaching of the Cross, while arousing the fiercest antagonism, is what has ultimately gripped many a bigoted Moslem.

2. Ignorance. Most of the illiterate Moslems and many who are ignorant of Islam, on hearing the Gospel, will readily assent to it and forthwith add it to their pantheon of superstitions. Some will comment, "that is just the same as our Ahongs say." People of this type are easily terrified by the learned, and are often fined for listening to the "falsified book." Many reckoned as educated are really quite ignorant of the Gospel. A Persian Saiboy (Sahib) in West Kansu, a scholar in Arabic and Persian, possesses a large Arabic Bible. He has studied it, and is quite puzzled to account for the wonderful prophecies and fulfillments. Not desiring to admit

the obvious conclusion, he is convinced that the sixty-six books are the Gospel, enlarged and amplified, and that Christians possess neither the true Torah nor Zabur.

3. Indifference. This is the attitude of many who have a veneer of formal religion and revel in good works. The Gospel disturbs their dormant consciences, therefore it is distasteful to them. They are often people of influence or affluence, travellers, military people or merchants, like the wealthy skin-merchants and curio dealers of coastal China. Some think that Islam's way and the way of the Cross are not contradictory, as an "East Country" man of Mongol descent once said, "They seem to be two ways, but God is knowing; some day, somehow they will be one." An educated Moslem of Hunan, a few years ago, published a treatise proposing a union between Islam and Christianity; of course it was based on mistaken ideas of Christian teaching.

4. Dissatisfaction—(i. e., with orthodox Islam). Chinese Moslems, because of their distance from the centers of Islam, frequently have this attitude. The widespread Persian influence indicating the great Shiah schism, and the gropings for a mediator as evidenced by the undue reverence paid to Hasan and Husain, all make the mediatorial work of Christ very appealing. Also the undercurrent of Sufiism, the Djahariyah outreaching from Eastern Kansu, the Qadiriya centering in the mausoleums near Hochow, Kansu, and the Naqshbandiya in the vicinity of Sining, all affect the attitude of their adherents to the Gospel. The mystical in the Gospel makes a great appeal, but unless these people are also dissatisfied with their mystic way, they little desire The Way. Orthodox Islam in China also countenances an abnormal reverence for tombs of saints, use of the *tasbih* and charms. These practices often make Moslems more open to look for the Truth in the Gospel. Also some have become dissatisfied with Islam because of the spirit it often engenders in its leaders. These, seeing no spiritual life

manifested in their own, seek hopefully in the Gospel and its followers for The Life.

5. Conviction. (i. e., mental, in the truth of the Gospel). Moslem children who have at any time attended Christian schools and heard the Gospel are apt to assent to it in this way. Also those who read are often attracted by certain verses from the Gospel. One such, reading the verse, "I came forth from the Father and am come into the world; again, I leave the world and go to the Father," was so impressed that he brought dozens of acquaintances just to read that verse. Many in mission hospitals, or when hearing the Gospel at the time of receiving medical help, are convinced in this way. But unless their hearts are really convicted those in this class present the great enigma, namely, how some Moslems can, with seeming sincerity, believe the Koran which denies the Cross and man's need for an atonement, and also assent to the Gospel which centers around these truths.

6. Belief. Naturally, the ones who have this attitude are the secret believers, many of this type having been reported by missionaries and Chinese Christians from various parts of China. To the Moslems they are still in the Islamic fold, and while their mental attitude is mainly Christian, their spiritual vision is yet dimmed by the scales of Islam. This type may, at first acquaintance, exhibit any one of the outward camouflages, but later will give a clue to the inward belief. One such gave his first clue by showing an exceptional knowledge of the New Testament doctrine of the Holy Spirit, about Whom even learned Moslems are lamentably ignorant.

The preceding paragraphs apply to China only. Neither race nor occupation seems to influence the mental attitude to the Gospel; nor do social position, age or sex. Readers who know Islam in other lands may judge for themselves whether the Chinese Moslem is a freak variety or whether he is true to type, bearing the fruit of the tree of which Islam is the root and branches.

Sining, Kansu. GEORGE K. HARRIS.

IF MOHAMMED HIMSELF HAD ACCEPTED CHRIST

During the first few centuries of the Christian era there was so much controversy over the essentials of religious belief that the Church was already divided by irreparable breaches at the time Mohammed arose to proclaim the unity of God. Little as he may have known of the true mission of Christ, he was fully aware of the dangers to the soul's faith of the controversies that had raged over the doctrine of the Trinity, and he was driven to condemn the extreme views that had been propagated by some leaders of the Christian church in a similar way to that which he used in denouncing the belief of those simple Arabian tribes amongst whom he lived, who were accustomed to worship one god of the hills, another god of the plains and an innumerable number of other gods connected with the various senses of the human intellect.

It has been contended that the Western mind is incapable of grasping the true message of Christianity, that it is more suited to the Eastern mind which is accustomed to the life and teaching of ascetics. The Western Church demanded a creed or belief which had been investigated by a council of intellectual experts. The Nicene creed was framed by such leaders; though men who had suffered untold hardships and tortures made themselves heard, as it was being discussed by a wonderfully representative assembly. So the translation of the scriptures, which for all time have proved a guide and stay for believers, was entrusted to men of great intellectual capacity and of true devotion of soul. To the Eastern mind the appeal would have come more forcibly from the ascetic, whose life would have been lost in European countries.

I do not think that sufficient attention has been paid to a consideration of what might have been the effect upon Christendom if St. Paul had again turned his footsteps towards the East, instead of responding to the call from Europe. That miracle of the Early Church recognized that theology was essential to the Greek and Roman mind. He made full use of the national character of those persons amongst whom he worked. In the East he might well have left alone much of the reasoned arguments he used in dealing with the cultured Greeks. An entirely different attitude would have been needed in Arabia; but it might have resulted in a great turning to Christ of those multitudes in neighboring countries who had followed the teaching of Zoroaster for centuries and, in the long run, might have prepared the way for the acceptance of Christianity by Mohammed himself.

Prejudiced as he undoubtedly was against both the followers of Judaism who probably traded in Arabia at that time, and the Christians whom he had met, Mohammed had the greatest respect for Christ, whose supernatural birth he never doubted, and he regarded Abraham with similar reverence; whilst much of the Mohammedan law corresponded to that of Moses and, on that account, was eminently suited to the nations amongst whom his followers carried their faith.

Weakened by religious controversies extending over several centuries, and despised by adherents of other faiths on account of the intolerance of the Church's leaders, it is not altogether surprising that the North African Church should have succumbed so readily before the united attack of Mohammedanism which swept over the Land of the Pharaohs and throughout the Holy Land at the close of the sixth century. If only Mohammed had met with Christ instead of taking his opinions second-hand, how different would have been the history of the Hausa race with its extensive influence for good or evil upon the pagan races of the Sudan. Instead of its efforts to reach the pagans for Christ before they have come

under the influence of Mohammedanism, the Hausa might have become the best possible medium for leading these natives to Christ; nor would they have been handicapped by adherence to Western interpretations of the Christian religion which are in many particulars contrary to those of other Christian churches which are today owned and blessed of God.

Already there are signs to show that earnest seekers after the truth in Islam are awakening to the fact that it is false to judge Christianity by the example of its adherents, and the respect and honor which the prophet paid to our Lord Himself has prompted them to study afresh His life and teachings, so that they may judge for themselves of the truth of His claim. Modern world movements have shown that many of the regulations of Mohammedanism, which may have been very suited to the warlike character of Arabia when Mohammed lived there, take on a new aspect in other countries and amid the rapid changes of modern days. Such an upheaval must necessarily turn our attention to what is essential to the soul's belief and what is merely of local interest and importance; just as much of the Mosaic law which was essential to those wandering persons for whom it was originally framed requires a new consideration in accordance with the local customs and climate experienced by those who have migrated to other parts of the world.

A careful study of the teachings of Christ, on the other hand, shows His teaching to be of universal application, without necessarily upsetting the customs of any one country; so that the full interpretation of His message is impossible until it has been applied under all conditions and by all races.

Durban, S. Africa. F. G. CAWSTON.

CURRENT TOPICS

Brummana, 1929.

In the spring of this year Brummana, Syria, welcomed the delegates of the Near East Christian Council (The Council for Western Asia and Northern Africa).

Since the present writer was only a substitute, it may be said with absolute freedom that the delegates were as interesting as the countries from which they came. The Persian triumvirate gave the impression that as a solid phalanx they would stand together anywhere, and we understood something of the urge behind the movement in that country towards a church that shall be Persian in its catholicity. Turkey and the Balkans gave us the strong, quiet personality of Dr. MacCallum, who made us feel that he must always be putting other people in a better frame of mind; while we were also intrigued by the ever alert and penetrating thinking of Dr. Goodsell. Then we were impressed likewise by the frank earnestness of Pastor Marcus Abdul Masih, partnered by the lively spirit of both the other Egyptian delegates; the intense attitude of Dr. Sowash with his quarter of a century in the Soudan behind him. From Arabia came at all events the equal half of Dr. Calverley (in fact Dr. Calverley herself) and she moved us more than once as she spoke with a faith undimmed and hoping yet; and then there was North Africa ably led by Mr. Percy Smith, jovial, wise and expectant. Over all, the presiding genius of Mr. Nicol, who seems to have been born for the especial object of being chairman of the Near East Christian Council, as well as other Councils and Committees! While the name of Mrs. Baker was no longer what it must have been to some before, the Council had a pretty good idea of the power behind the typewriter and the power behind the Bulletin in her work as Executive Secretary.

The Bulletin was a real *multum in parvo* of missionary facts and missionary hopes; something that introduces everybody to everybody else right round this Mediterranean region and further east as well. The Council accomplishes most of its work through committees, and much of the time at Brummana was taken up with the consideration of the reports of these committees. That of the Education Committee, largely the work of the President of the American University in Cairo, and consisting of a survey of the whole field, is now available for the missions of the area.

Dr. Zwemer had prepared a report on Evangelism, and over this there was considerable discussion. Probably the most significant feature of it was the proposal to go forward with the idea put forward by him and Professor Levonian to hold a conference whose membership for all practical purposes would be confined to a small group of Oriental Christians, called together to discuss the approach to Moslems with the message of Christ.

Our discussion of this suggestion led naturally to a further one on the possibility of some greater amount of cooperation between the Indigenous Churches of the East and the Council. It was felt that the path to this would best be traversed by a special committee of the Council set up for the purpose. This was accordingly done and it is the very genuine hope of the members of the Council that the day may not be long delayed when our brothers from the Orthodox and other Churches of the East may share the burden and the joy of planning along with the representatives of the West for the extension of God's Kingdom in Moslem Lands.

A large amount of time—the members at the close felt too much—was devoted to the presenting of the reports from different parts of the area, much of the information contained in which is now available in the June number of the "News Bulletin of the Near East Christian Council." On the other hand it was also felt that this rehearsal of "what God hath wrought" was valuable not merely as information but as inspiration.

The Chairman reminded us the first evening of the Council meeting, that we gathered together not simply for mutual information and advice, but for that experiment in fellowship, which was to mean far more for ourselves and the Moslem World, once it was realized. It was only as this was increasingly realized that we would pass on to a period of what was described as "irruptive and inventive evangelism." With the unity of diverse minds, so diverse that they knew what unity meant, the Council can surely lead the way.

E. F. F. B.

The Human Geography of Northern Libya

Under this caption the *Geographical Review* (London) gives the following interesting data on one of the great unknown areas in the Moslem world. They are based on a recent article by Ahlmann in *Geograficka Annaler* (1928).

Before the Italian occupation of Libya such a full program of research as that which Ahlmann set himself could not have been carried out. Under Turkish rule Tripoli and Cyrenaica were among the least-known quarters of Africa. Behind the immediate coastal belt along the Mediterranean spread wide expanses of unexplored and half-explored country. While there is still much to be learned, the facilities offered by Italian officials and scientists towards the successful conduct of field work in the winter of 1926–1927, together with the data provided in the published works of Italian scientists and in Italian statistical compilations, have made it possible for Ahlmann to produce an unusually well-rounded regional monograph.

Ahlmann's foremost interest is "the study of settlements (*établissements humains*) considered as the expression of the relations between nature and culture." The first part of "La Libye septentrionale," accordingly, is devoted to the natural environment: land forms, climate, drainage, and vegetation. In this connection it may be noted that Ahlmann's study is supplemented for Tripolitania by Dr. Leo Wittschell's monograph "Klima und Landschaft in Tripolitanien" (*Veröffentl. Georg. Inst. der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg,* Vol. 10,

Hamburg, 1928), with climatic tables and maps and some excellent photographs of types of landscape.

In Part II the rôle of historical forces in producing existing cultural conditions is adequately recognized in a brief "history of the human geography of northern Libya." The most original paragraphs in this clear outline are given over to an attempt at determining the extent of the cultivated area of Cyrenaica in antiquity. Ahlmann assumes that the climate of northern Africa has not materially changed within the last two or three millennia. He also assumes that the great majority of the existing wells and cisterns in Cyrenaica were constructed before the Arab occupation. The Arabs "confined themselves to what antiquity had bequeathed to them" and did not undertake the digging of wells or building of cisterns. Consequently Ahlmann holds that the location of wells, cisterns, and springs gives a fairly precise notion of those areas that were most prosperous agriculturally under the Greeks and Romans.

The areas occupied by sedentary folk were unquestionably much larger than they now are. Ahlmann agrees with Professor E. F. Gautier in regarding the introduction of the camel into northern Africa (towards the close of the period of Roman rule) as an event of the utmost historical significance, in that it made possible the practice of nomadism in hitherto unoccupied tracts. The camel assured to the nomadic Arab invaders of the tenth century preponderance over the settled folk, a preponderance that would account in large measure for the cultural stagnation of northern Libya in medieval and modern times.

The last half of Ahlmann's work deals with the human geography of northern Libya at the present day: Part III with the actual status of native culture, and Part IV with forms of settlement. Stock raising and agriculture are by far the most important industries. Urban centers are small, and urban industries insignificant.

One important point stressed by Ratzel, but here made especially clear by the citation of numerous illustrative examples, is the absence of any sharp line of cleavage between the nomadic and sedentary elements in the population. The two modes of life merge almost imperceptibly into each other. At one end of the scale are the tent-dwelling nomads, constantly on the move from pasture to pasture with their sheep and camels; at the other are the growers of fruit trees and cultivators of small garden plots, dwellers in compactly-built villages where water may be obtained.

An Actual Visit to the Kaaba

Our readers will remember the account of "Christians at Mecca" in the last number of our Quarterly. Here is an episode from the story of the last visitor, Mr. Rutter, and his experiences in actually getting over the high threshold and into the innermost shrine of Islam:

"For some moments I made no effort to reach the door of the Kaaba, but swayed passively with the multitude in order to observe what was happening. I noticed that the Wahhâbîs mounted on one another's shoulders, and scrambled over the threshold as though they were breaking into a desert fort. Some of the foreign *hâjjis* and poor dervishes endeavored to imitate their example. These were ruthlessly

pushed down by the youths on the threshold, or pulled back by the slaves below. I observed, however, that those who, as they pushed their way forward, held out a serious piece of money met with no repulse, but were allowed to enter unopposed. . . . With some difficulty I extracted a *mejîdi* from the fold of the silken shawl about my waist, and held it out above my head towards the guardians of the door. At once one of them stretched out his hands to me, took my hand with the *mejîdi* in one of his, and started to pull me up. . . . I had begun to feel that I was as good as inside the House, when suddenly a great claw was laid upon my back, and another grasped my left leg. I was being pulled back to earth again, but still I struggled to get over the threshold, and still the Shaybi's youths hauled upon my arms. 'Let him be,' ordered one of the youths. 'His money is with us.' At that magic word the slave below relaxed his grip, and I stumbled breathlessly to my feet on the floor of the Kaaba."

Mr. Rutter stayed for many months in Mecca at a critical time in the history of the Holy City, and his descriptions of life there are fascinatingly interesting. From Mecca, he visited Es-Sayl and Et-Tâif, and then went to Medina, of which he gives an account as interesting as that of Mecca itself.

Discontent in Turkey

A correspondent of the London Times writes:

"The disappearance of the official Opposition in Turkey (where the Grand National Assembly is exclusively composed of Government Deputies) makes it extremely difficult to learn whether any real discontent exists.

"There are, nevertheless, grounds for believing that discontent does exist, and, since there is hardly any freedom of speech or Press, the discontented elements lack a safety valve. It is, therefore, conceivable that other and less orderly outlets might be sought by those who are dissatisfied with the present *régime*. It would seem that there are four main causes of discontent—first, the continued and severe economic crisis; secondly, the introduction of the new characters; thirdly, the apprehension of Government interference with the Moslem religion; and last of all, there is the jealousy of ambitious individuals who are scheming to secure power.

"As regards the first cause, the Government is by no means entirely to blame. A succession of bad harvests caused by drought has inflicted much suffering on parts of Anatolia and has, indeed, compelled the import of foreign grain. The continued absence of Russia from the economic comity of European nations has dealt Constantinople a blow from which the city will take years to recover. No Turkish Government could have avoided either of these misfortunes. But the hindrances to legitimate trade, such as the imposition of heavy, and in some cases unfair, taxes, the creation of a number of State monopolies which help to increase the cost of living, and the pronounced distrust of foreign capital, do contribute very largely to the economic crisis.

"The introduction of the new alphabet has been hailed as a far-sighted and practical reform. So it is; but it does not follow that all the people affected by the reform are of the same opinion. Would the average Englishman feel happy if he were told that in future he must

read and write in the Russian characters? And that is what the change in Turkey amounts to, for all men, women, and children between the ages of 16 and 40 must now attend courses in the new characters. The literate Turks, who constitute between 15 per cent and 20 per cent of the population, find it very hard to assimilate the new characters derived from Latin. They are not able to read so freely as they were in the past. They can not pick up their newspaper and rapidly form an idea of its contents. Nor can they write in the new script with anything like the same facility, and the consequence is that in private correspondence many continue to use the Arabic characters. These may be minor difficulties which will prove to be only temporary, but it would be absurd to describe the alphabetic reform as popular.

"On the question of religion a non-Moslem is on ground where he must tread delicately. Broadly speaking, there are two explanations of the cause of the discussions among Turks as to the possibility of a change in their religion. The first theory is based on unofficial reports from Angora to the effect that the Ghazi contemplates making further changes, and that it is to religion that he next intends to devote his energies. No specific acts or words can be adduced in support of this, except for one or two veiled references to the future contained in a speech delivered by the Ghazi to the Popular Party in Constantinople on August 9 last. The second explanation is that elements hostile to the Government are deliberately and sedulously spreading the rumor that the Ghazi intends to issue an edict abolishing Islam in Turkey. Such a rumor, so they calculate, would influence many people against the Government and would render such a change—if it were contemplated—exceedingly difficult."

A Koran Reference to the Deity of Christ?

A distinguished Persian scholar, a convert from Islam, writes: Have you ever noticed that the Koran really admits the fact that the apostles saluted Jesus as God, and so acknowledged him to be equal with God? I refer especially to Surah III: 45 and Surah LXI: 14. The passages are parallel, and the earlier one reads: "And when Jesus perceived their unbelief He said, Who are my helpers for God? Said the apostles, We are God's helpers. We believe in God, so bear witnesss that we are resigned." Undoubtedly there is a reference here to John 6:69 and Peter's bold confession. Perhaps our correspondent's idea is far-fetched, but the Arabic text may admit the interpretation that the helpers of Jesus are the helpers of God. (See Baidawi on both passages.)

Turning the other Cheek

There was a young Mohammedan sheikh who became a Christian, and a devoted worker among his Moslem countrymen. He tells how in the early days of Gairdner and Thornton's work in Egypt he went into their house where discussions took place. "There for the first time," he writes, "I saw Mr. Gairdner, who was greeting us all. From the first moment I was attracted: although he did not know much Arabic he gave me a warm welcome. Next week I went again, and Gairdner was the speaker. His subject was the divinity of Christ, and when he said, 'Behold then in Christ God Incarnate,' I was furious

and rose up yelling. I soon had the room in excitement, and we broke the chairs and lamps. In the midst of it I heard Gairdner say very quietly: 'The real leader in this is that little short man,' meaning me. He had a Coptic friend with him, a good man, and this friend said: 'Hadn't I better go and fetch the police?' I shall never forget how Gairdner turned round to him and called him by his name in a tone that held both friendship and horror, 'Ayyad,' he said, 'what do we want the police here for? Don't you know, Ayyad, that we are here for the sake of the Azhar men, and if necessary I am quite ready to take a beating from them.' My friend, Abd-er-Rahman, overheard that, and he said at once, 'If you came here for our sakes let us see if you mean what you say. Now it says in your Book that if you are struck on one cheek you should turn the other, but you won't follow that.' This he said, working himself up to anger, and sure that no man so proud as an Englishman would carry it out. Instantly Gairdner strode into the middle of the room, clasped his hands behind his back and said with a charming smile, 'Come on then, my brother, strike as much as you like.' None of us could, we were so surprised to see that in an Englishman, and he looked so friendly. We stood in silence. Then he broke into a little laugh, and so did we, and he said: 'Then let us drink coffee together.'" And so the story goes on through months that followed. The sheikh went on going to the meetings and other talks with Gairdner and Thornton, feeling at the same time a growing bitterness against Christianity and an increasing fascination by it. As he discussed religious questions on the one hand with Gairdner and Thornton and on the other with the teachers at the El Azhar University, what struck him was the attitude of the former—their patience, their toleration, their openness of mind and readiness for discussion. "Their courtesy and friendliness," he writes, "so attracted me that I went more and more to them." He describes how, as he read the New Testament, he was overwhelmed by the passage, "Love your enemies," and the exemplification of the teaching which he found in the lives of his Christian friends.

That story might be repeated from many parts of the mission field.

—*The Chronicle of the L. M. S.* (London).

The Son of Sultan Abdul Hamid

The daily press contains the following despatch from Budapest: "After having looked in vain for a rich American girl as a bride to restore his shattered fortune, Prince Abdul Kadir, son of Sultan Abdul Hamid, who might be Sultan of Turkey had not Mustapha Kemal made that country a republic, has sought permission from the Minister of Labor to join a gypsy orchestra as a violinist.

"Abdul Kadir, who was once worth $50,000,000 and was a favorite son of the Sultan, was expelled from Turkey in 1924 with but $1,250 in his pocket, which he soon spent. Reduced to poverty and deserted by his two young and beautiful wives, Abdul Kadir, as a last resort took up fiddling."

Jews and Israelites in the Koran

Israel's Messenger of Shanghai, dated February 1, has brought the sixth instalment of Dr. S. S. Levy's interesting series on "Judaism and

Islam." If all religious missionaries adopted Dr. Levy's charity of spirit and sweetness of tone, when talking of others' faiths and their founders, much of the present bitterness between faith and faith would be a thing of the past. Religion which, as a rule, fanaticism has turned into a bone of contention between man and man would then become the common bond of fellowship that it was meant to be.

The learned contributor to the *Messenger* has brought out a nice point of distinction between the words *Bani-Israil* and *Al-Yahud* as used in the Koran, which should do credit to his scholarship. "Careful discrimination must always be made," he warns the critics of the Koran, "between these two names in the Koran. The first refers to the whole nation, the second to the few Arab Jews who had some friction and antagonism with Mohammed." Confusion between these two should be avoided and "none should be guilty of accusing Mohammed of 'praising and slandering the Jews in one breath in the Holy Koran.' This error arises from confusing the above two names."

This explanation, for the first time put forward by Dr. Levy so far as we are aware, should go a long way to remove one great cause of bitterness between the Jews and the Moslems. That there have been good men in a community as well as bad men, just as there are good and bad in all of us today, no one can deny. Why, then, rake up the bones and quarrel over the dead past? We are here to build a world of our own. Why not build a happy world? Why perpetuate the follies and feuds of our ancestors? If only the Hindus and Moslems in India were to take the same common sense view-point, much of communal tension such as over Shivaji and Aurangzeb would be no more.

Viewed in this light, mountains of differences shrink into mere molehills. In the same spirit Dr. Levy explains certain harsh words in the Koran about the Jews. "By apes," he rightly says, "is meant that their spiritual genius became paralyzed so that instead of drawing from inspiration and enlightening and leading others they degenerated into learning from and imitating or mimicking and following the misguided and the inferior. By swine they have become like animals wallowing in selfishness and the vain and frivolous enjoyments of earthly animal life." Dr. Levy's frank confession that some of the Israelites had some time fallen very low does not detract anything from their greatness as a race. Are there not such moral and spiritual apes and swine in every people?

—*The Light*, Lahore.

"Islam has no Sabbath"

The Editor of *The Light* (Lahore) comments as follows on the text he himself has chosen for an editorial against Sunday observance:

Sabbath was originally a Jewish institution of great importance. Jesus Christ who sprang from among the Jews was not very eager about observing it as it appears from the New Testament (Mark ii. 27). But Christians in later times felt that they should stick to the Sabbath as rigorously as the Jews did. But the Christian Sabbath was not identical with the Jewish one. Israelites observed Saturday as their Sabbath and the Christians have accepted Sunday for theirs.

It is impossible to justify the folly of the idea. One wonders how these sheep of the Lord dare to uphold such an absurd cause. A sug-

gestion to waste a whole day, on the plea that the Lord takes rest on that day, as though the Lord is like them an ordinary mortal needing sleep and rest! Look at what the Quran says: "Allah is He besides whom there is no god, the Ever-living, Self-subsisting by whom all subsist; slumber does not overtake Him nor sleep" (2:255). Islam has no Sabbath, no particular day set apart exclusively for pious duties. In Islam prayer as a duty must be performed every day. On Friday the Muslims must assemble in mosques for a special weekly service on which occasion a sermon is to be delivered instructing them as to their week's duties and well-being. But they are not asked to loaf away the day in the name of observing Lord's day. The Holy Quran says:

> O you who believe! When the call is made for prayer on Friday, then hasten to the remembrance of Allah and leave off traffic; that is better for you, if you know. But when the prayer is ended, then disperse abroad in the land and seek of Allah's grace.

Islam and the use of the Tooth-Brush

One of the distinguishing features of Islam in every nook and corner of the old world is the use of the *miswak* or wooden tooth-brush. In South Africa, in Bulgaria, in Central China we have seen it on sale and in use by the Believers. In a recent article the editor of *The Light* (Lahore) refers to the mouth as the gateway of the body, and goes on to say:

"That the cleanliness or otherwise of teeth has a tremendous effect on the health of man is one of the most remarkable revelations of modern medical research. To us, the followers of the Holy Prophet of Islam, the discovery is doubly welcome. It is conducive to keep us fit in body, but what is more, it should also strengthen us in our faith. Centuries ago when the world knew no such thing as medical science in the modern sense of the word, that unlettered scientist of the desert laid the greatest possible emphasis on the cleanliness of the teeth. By precept as well as example he took great care to see that his people should take to this healthy practice. Five times a day before each prayer when ablutions are made, the mouth must be thoroughly cleansed. There used to be no pastes or powders, but the *miswak* (the twig or root of a particular plant) used contained natural antiseptic properties. Even to this day, after the lapse of over thirteen long centuries, the *miswak* is looked upon by the orthodox among the Moslems as carrying some sort of religious significance. Of course, they fail to see, through their ignorance, that it is a useful practice. They do it out of motives of piety. The Prophet was exceedingly keen on it. Even at night, he would keep a *miswak* at hand and use it a number of times. He went so far as to say that were it not hard on his followers, he would have enjoined the cleansing of teeth as a religious duty. Thus, whereas modern science has only just come to know of the value of clean teeth, the Prophet of Islam, inspired as he was with wisdom Divine, promulgated this great hygienic truth in an age of utter darkness."

BOOK REVIEWS

The Turkish Ordeal: Being the further Memoirs of Halidé Edib. The Century Co., New York, 1928. pp. 407. $4.00.

To anyone who has read the Memoirs of Halidé Edib, this second volume, The Turkish Ordeal, comes as a great pleasure. One is filled with admiration for a young woman who has emancipated herself from the burden of ignorance which Islam places upon woman, and therefore is the leader of her Turkish sisters.

Part I introduces us to the beginnings of the Nationalist Movement, the aspirations of Turkey for the people.

The intimate glimpses of Halidé Edib's home life and her love for her two young sons is very attractive. She is perfectly at home in the English language, and only once does she slip back into expressing herself as she would in Turkish. On page 57 she tells of her husband's insisting on sending Hasan, her little six-year-old son, to night school. In Arabic, and probably in Turkish, a boarding school is called a night school, so the reader would naturally wonder why she took it so to heart and went every week to see him. The idea uppermost in the mind is that the child is not at home, even at night. She is intensely human and womanly, and her patriotism, although it made a soldier of her, never made her mannish.

Her description of the struggle of Turkey and the Turkish army at the close of the Great War, to reconstruct their government and their country, is well worth careful reading. It makes one realize what a tremendous job the leaders had on their hands. Her bitterness towards the Allies, and especially towards Great Britain, runs all through the book. Naturally one filled with such patriotism would resent President Wilson's Fourteen Points—the setting up of an Armenian Republic, and also the feeling which some in the West had of wanting to wipe the Turk off the face of the earth. But all through the book she never gives the reason why the Western world had such feelings against the Turks.

On page three she speaks of the "minorities and the series of atrocities committed by all the racial units," but this is the only place where she admits any atrocities on the Turkish side. She speaks again and again of the atrocities committed by the Armenians and Greeks, and seems to insinuate that they were egged on by the Allies. She seems blind to the fact that they were only paying their enemies back in their own kind, when the chance came their way. Two wrongs do not make a right, and one feels sorry that when the Christians were victors for a time they could not have shown a more Christian spirit.

Part II tells of the author's life in Angora after her flight from Stamboul. Very interesting glimpses of Mustapha Kemal run all through the book. Sometimes she tells us of his character and tem-

perament as a looker-on, and sometimes she gives us very intimate pictures of him as a man and a soldier. On page 167 she describes her first meeting with him. His cynicisms and criticisms of his friends as well as his enemies sickened her. She very soon realized what his ambitions were, and knew that he would let nothing or no one stand in the way of his gaining his end. Nevertheless she was too devoted a patriot ever to let her personal opinion stand in the way of helping anyone who would lead her country out of its trials into freedom. She had many opportunities of studying the personality of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and those associated with him, as they sat night after night until four and five in the morning, discussing the political and military situation and the problems of their country. Her conversations with Mustapha Kemal give the reader a very good idea of her strength, and his respect for her opinion in all matters which were racking the country. In fact, her life among all those generals was wonderful. She was their comrade, and yet they never forgot that she was a woman. Her flight from Stamboul to Angora, and then from place to place, as the National Army had to move, was a wonderful experience for a Turkish woman.

Her love for animals and children, and the service she rendered to the women of her country—especially the peasant women—is very touching.

Part III tells us about life at the front. How proud Halidé Edib Hanum was to be made a corporal, and how well she played her part! The story of her official visit to the villages after the Greek army had passed through is a sad one. On page 307 she says, "I want to say that there is no such thing as a guilty nation. And that one of the obstacles to peace is the hysterical and exaggerated propagating of people's suffering for political purposes." But after these remarks she goes on telling of the atrocities of Greeks in the Turkish villages, and never once does she speak of the terrible things which the Armenians had to endure at the hands of the Turks.

On page four she refers to the deportations and massacres, but only in connection with two things in which she feels the Allies made a mistake in their dealing with Turkey—the creation of an Armenia and the invasion of Asia Minor by Greece.

The book ends happily. The Nationalists win, and Mustapha Kemal Pasha becomes the Mussolini of Turkey. Halidé Edib Hamun goes back into private life with the joy of success.

BESSIE A. MYLREA.

The Search, being the C. M. S. story of the year 1928-9. Church Missionary Society, London. pp. 122. 1 shilling.

A spirited and vivid narration of a great work in Africa and Asia. Men as the seekers for satisfaction in various forms, being satisfied only as they find reality in Jesus Christ. Naturally in the Moslem world the strongest light falls on the wonderful work in Persia, but there is some reference to the chief sphere of Moslem evangelization in India, where it links up with the work among outcastes and Hindus.

H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON.

Islam: Beliefs and Institutions, by Henri Lammens, S. J. Translated from the French by Sir E. Denison Ross. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London. pp. 256. 8s. 6d.

The original work was reviewed in our Quarterly and highly recommended. We welcome the English translation. The author is recognized as one of the chief living authorities on Moslem theology and history. He describes with great conciseness and complete impartiality the beliefs and institutions of Islam, giving a picture which is clear in its outline and true in every detail. No comprehensive survey of this great religion has been available in so compact and readable a form. After describing the cradle of Islam in pre-Islamic times, an entire chapter is devoted to the founder of the new faith. The date of Mohammed's birth, Dr. Lammens states is about 580 A. D. and not as commonly stated, about 570 A. D. The chapters on the Koran, the Sunna, Jurisprudence, and Asceticism and Mysticism are remarkable in every way, and would lend themselves admirably as a text-book for study classes in Islam. The same cannot be said of the chapter on the Sects, which is incomplete, and the final chapter on modern Islam. The space at the author's disposal made it impossible for him to treat these subjects adequately. Nevertheless, Prof. Lammens portrays the war in the camp, both modernistic and reactionary.

"The chief centres of Muslim modernism are in India, Egypt and Turkey, if, however, that of Turkey still deserves this name at the stage which it has reached in the wake of Kemalist laicism. All the modernists are united in the war against superstition. The most moderate amongst them have undertaken the mission of showing the complete agreement between Islam, sanely interpreted, and the progress and aspirations of modern times. They protest that misunderstanding alone has given rise to a belief in their antinomy and they are resolved to dissipate it. 'We have made the mistake of attributing absolute values to details of secondary importance, and of establishing as immutable and eternal laws, rules inspired by the temporary necessities of a particular period.' . . . Some modernists liken Muhammad to any other human legislator. In this capacity, the Prophet was entitled to obedience, but his successors, having inherited the same right, were qualified to amend or complete his legislative work. According to this theory, Islam is nothing more than a code of moral discipline, a collection of religious truths. It has no call to mingle in questions of politics and human legislation. 'Earthly things are of too little importance in the eyes of Allah that He should have deemed it expedient to confide their regulation to a prophet; and the prophets have too correct an estimate of their trivial value to consent to deal with them.'"

In view of this, one can hardly understand the strong alliance between the Modernists and the Wahhabite party.

"The Wahhabite sympathies of the Moslem intellectuals and modernists must necessarily be more unexpected. Their doctrinal scepticism seemed bound to separate them from such sincere believers as the innovators of Nejd, for whom progress consists essentially in a return to the most remote past. Leaving out of account the Neo-Wahhabi factions of India, the reformist school of the *Manar* is entirely devoted to the Wahhabis. These sympathies were noisily expressed on the occasion of the recent events which revolutionized the political situation in

the Hejaz. The modernists flatter themselves that in the Wahhabis they have found useful auxiliaries who will facilitate for them the reform of Islam. Furthermore, the two parties are at one on another point of their common programme, the desire to close the Arabian Peninsula to all foreign penetration. Which will carry the day? The laggards of Arabia, or those who propose to skip the intermediate stages in order to make up lost headway on the road of modern progress?"

The bibliography is excellent, although a number of important works in English are omitted.

Z.

Biblical Doctrines: by Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield. Oxford University Press. pp. 665. Price $4.

This is the second volume of the selected writings of Dr. Warfield, the leading Calvinistic theologian in the English speaking world. The first volume was reviewed at length in our Quarterly. The present one deals with such topics as Predestination, The Biblical Doctrine of the Trinity, The Person of Christ, The Christ that Paul Preached, Christ our Sacrifice, The Millennium and the Apocalypse. The missionary engaged in theological discussions with Moslems will find these volumes helpful in every way. They are marked by thorough scholarship and conservative position.

Z.

The Book of the Ten Treatises on the Eye ascribed to Hunein ibn Ishaq (809–877 A. D.). The earliest systematic Text Book of Ophthalmology. The Arabic Text, edited from the only two known manuscripts, with an English Translation and Glossary, by Max Meyerhof. Cairo, 1928. 8vo, liii 277, 222 pp. Government Press.

This book was dedicated to the Faculty of Medicine of the Egyptian University at its recent centenary celebration, and is one of the most important contributions that have been made to our knowledge of science among the Arabs for many years.

Dr. Meyerhof provides us with a lengthy introduction, in which he discusses the early Arab Ophthalmological Treatises, and in particular the life and work of Hunain b. Ishaq, in the course of which he makes it clear that here again the Arabs have made no original contribution of any importance to science, but have done useful work as the transmitters of the knowledge of the Greeks and Syrians.

Perhaps the most important part of the work is the Glossary, where we have provided for us in convenient form the results of Dr. Meyerhof's researches for many years. All the Arabic medical terms are alphabetically arranged, with the Greek terms from which they were borrowed, and their English equivalent.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Fajr ul-Islam, Part I. By Ahmad Amin. 8vo, xiv, 355 pp. 1928. I'timad Press, Cairo. 20 piastres.

This work "Fajr ul-Islam," is to consist of three parts, and is an investigation into the intellectual, political and literary life of the early years of Islam, from the beginnings up to the end of the Umayyad period. The authors are three savants associated with the Egyptian

University. This first volume is by Ahmad Amin, and the others are to be by Taha Hussein and Abd al-Hamid al-Abbadi.

The project is an ambitious one, for few periods of Islamic history are so shrouded in obscurity as this early period before the coming to power of the Abbasids. The series has made an admirable beginning, however, with this present volume on the intellectual life. Naturally the author has had to state his position on a number of disputed points, and will find many to disagree with him, but the spirit of the book is excellent, and represents a big advance on anything that has appeared on the subject from the Moslem press for many years.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Sul Libro Siro-Romano e sul presunto Diritto Siriaco i Carlo Alfonso Nallino. Pavia, 1929. 8vo, 61 pp. Fratelli Fusi.

It will be remembered that Prof. Nallino's paper at the Oxford Congress in which he dealt with the so-called Syro-Roman Law Book was hailed as one of the most important contributions to the Congress. His revised paper was printed in the first volume of *Studi in Onore di P. Bonfante,* and has now appeared as a reprint therefrom. The interest of the work is mainly to specialists, but his thesis is of some interest to students of Islam, for he claims that the Syro-Roman Law Book published by Sachau and Bruns, and which created such an interest at the time, is nothing but Hanafi Law adapted to the Syrian Church needs.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

To Koranion Metaphrasis ek ton Arabikon. By G. I. Pentake. Eleutheroudakes, A. E., Athens. pp. 464. 1928.

This new translation of the Koran into modern Greek is evidence of growing interest on the part of Oriental Christians in Islam. The translation is from the Arabic, and in addition to a brief introduction the translator furnishes a number of foot-notes and an index to the Surahs.

The Desert Road To Turkestan. By Owen Lattimore. Little, Brown & Company, Boston. pp. 373.

Describes "The Winding Road" across the desert of Mongolia, and the journey made by the author alone in 1926, and a second journey when, accompanied by his wife, he traveled through Central Asia over the Karakoram pass to Leh Kashmir and India. The literary style is superior to that of most books of travel, the story is heroic and the illustrations are excellent. There are a few illuminating references to the Moslem population of western China and Chinese Turkestan, but the book deals with geography and routes of travel rather than with ethnography and the customs of the people. The Swedish Mission at Kuei-hau on the border of the desert, and the Roman Catholic Mission at the same place, receive words of appreciation. The appendix gives a most useful itinerary, stage by stage, of the route from Kuei-hau to Ku-Cheng-Tse near Urumtchi in Chinese Turkestan. The two maps given on the inside covers of the book lack detail, and there is no uniformity in the place names.

Julian Ribera y Tarrago, con una introduccion de Miguel Asin Palacios. Estanislao Maestre, Madrid, 1928, 2 vol., cxvi 637, viii 796 pp. Pesetas 30.

A collection of the papers of the great Spanish Orientalist Ribera (born at Carcagente in 1858) with a one hundred page introduction by his pupil Miguel Asin, in which he gives a masterly tribute to Spanish Oriental scholarship. The two volumes contain important monographs on Arabic music, the libraries of Arabic literature in Spain, Ibn Quzman of Cordova, etc.

The Koran (Quran). Translated by E. H. Palmer with an introduction by R. A. Nicholson, pp. 551. Oxford University Press, London. 80c.

This handy volume in the series of "The World's Classics" is admirably adapted for the use of students. The translation of the text by Palmer was first published in the series of Sacred Books of the East, edited by Max Müller. The long introduction of Palmer is here omitted but the text and notes are unaltered, although the index is abbreviated. We quote two paragraphs from Nicholson's introduction. It is a most discriminating and fair appreciation of the Koran:

"Apart from its preposterous arrangement, the Qur'an is not so much a book as a collection of manifestoes, diatribes, harangues, edicts, discourses, sermons, and such-like occasional pieces. No subject is treated systematically, and the surprising omissions even in matters affecting the public worship of the Muslims show that Mohammed did not regard the revelations as chapters of a book, but rather as divine messages which had served their purpose when the emergency that produced them was past. From that point of view there was little reason why he or his audience should care what became of them."

"That the Qur'an, the literal Word of God, is in all respects unique and inimitable, is an article of faith which Western students approaching the subject without religious prepossessions are not likely to endorse; on the other hand, they will do the Qur'an less than justice if they measure it by common standards. Considered as a literary work it has many defects, but clearly it is not a literary work in the sense that the Bible is. It was addressed to the ear, not to the critical eye; it was uttered by a living voice that impressed those who heard it with the power and enthusiasm of the speaker; it made a personal appeal. Moreover, its doctrines were new to the great majority of Mohammed's countrymen, and were in very truth a 'revelation' of things they had never dreamed of and could hardly believe or understand. In order to judge the Qur'an fairly, we must see the time and the place and the Prophet all together."

Als Mohrenland Noch Christlich War. By G. V. Massenbach, Evangelische Muhammedaner-Mission, Wiesbaden. 94pp. M 1,50.

The purpose of the author is to answer the questions: "How did Christianity come to Nubia, and how did it disappear?" Nubia was an ancient state between the first two cataracts of the Nile, and their descendants still live there. The author, a missionary there for many years, answers the questions by a series of stories based on fact, each illustrating a different period in Nubian history. The book begins with the founding of Christianity in 540 by two missionaries from Con-

stantinople, who were monophysites. Nubia soon was a Christian country, according to the standards of that day. The causes of the downfall of the Nubian Church were—a lack of real spiritual power, and the inroads of the Mohammedans. Even today the people still observe Christian ceremonies, like Infant Baptism, although they are ignorant of their meaning. The book is interesting and easy reading, and makes one deeply interested in a people that once had the light of the Gospel, but now are in the darkness of Islam.

ERNEST ZENTGRAF.

Ramon Lull: A Biography by E. Allison Peers. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. pp. 454. Price 18sh. net.

In the preface to this elaborate biography, the author states that "No serious, full-length biography of the Mallorcan martyr, Ramon Lull, has been published in any language since Pasqual's great work appeared in the eighteenth century. Such a book the eminent Lullist Mateu Obrador had planned to write, and might indeed have written, had not death cut short his career." And again: "My primary object in attempting a biography, not indeed of the length which I should wish, but at least of a greater length than anything in English, is to give those who read neither Catalan nor Latin with any fluency a comprehensive account of the life and principal works of a man who, though born close on seven centuries ago, makes still a most potent appeal today, and that to persons differing widely in temperament, in race and in creed. To English and American readers, he is known chiefly by a few of his translated works, and before all the rest by his little classic 'The Book of the Lover and the Beloved.' This shows the heights to which Ramon Lull could soar; the present book endeavors to describe the depth and breadth of his life and personality, and the immortality of his work and his message."

He has made good his high ideal and we have here undoubtedly the best biography of Ramon Lull and the most complete in existence. It is based on original investigation of all the sources, and the selected bibliography includes over two hundred titles. In addition to an exhaustive general index there is also an index to all the works of Ramon Lull, both general and apocryphal, that are dealt with in the text. The author has made a careful study of the chronological difficulties and found a solution to most of them. It is astonishing how much material has been crowded into these pages, but the magnitude of the work only emphasizes the greatness of the personality described.

Mr. Peers, although he is conscious of Lull's work as a missionary, emphasizes rather his place as a mystic and theologian. He compares Lull to St. Francis and points out the striking similarity in their works, both in substance and style.

We commend the book to every missionary reader. Even after six centuries this hero stands out as one of the greatest Evangelists to the world of Islam. In the words of the author, Lull was "a patriarch of literature, an apostle of religion, and a herald among the mystics. The part of his work which was never destined to be immortal is dead already, and has the interest but of the mummy of a Pharaoh. The part which will live is now, after six centuries, achieving a new degree of popularity. . . . Even if the virile tongue of Catalonia should be silenced, the apostle and the herald will outlive the patriarch. Reduce Lull's mass of writings, by the fiercest flames of criticism, to ashes, and there still remain Blanquerna, and a collection of fragments, un-

harmed. For these defy criticism and argument; and while a spark of love for God remains in a human soul, it is unthinkable that Ramon's sublime hymns of love can ever perish."

It is to be regretted that such a complete biography has neither a map of Lull's many journeys nor any illustrations.

Z.

L'Islam Naissant: Notes Psychologiques—Michael d' Herbigny, S. J., Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Roma. pp. 177–325.

This is an important work. Although it appears as the second part of Vol. XIV of *Orientalia Christiana,* it forms a complete study of the psychology of the rise of Islam, by the President of the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, who is also titular bishop of Ilion. After a brief introduction, in which the learned author points out the gravity of the problems presented by Islam, and the earnest desire of His Holiness the Pope to win back these children of the great schism to the Mother Church, there follows a brief but excellent classified bibliography. This includes (a) the text of the Koran; (b) translations; (c) bibliographies of Islam; (d) ethnography of Moslem peoples; (e) the life of Mohammed; (f) tradition and jurisprudence; (g) the development of Islam. The book itself is divided into three parts: The religious growth of Mohammed, the origin of the Koran, and the psychology of the later years of Mohammed's life.

There follows a summary of his conclusions, and in the appendix we have in French all the passages of the Koran that refer to Jews and Christians.

The author's monograph is based on reliable authority, especially Lammens and Caetani. A number of interesting points are brought out, such as that Mohammed's original name was Qotham; that Khadija was probably a Christian, or at least inclined to Christianity before she married Mohammed; that the influence of Waraqa, who read the Gospel, was greater than is generally supposed. The author believes that there is evidence that Waraqa actually spoke to Mohammed about the Cross and its significance, but that he turned his back on it (p. 213).

The most interesting chapters are those that deal with the composition of the Koran and the influence of Omar and Aisha on the actual text. The author brings out very clearly (p. 244, 245) that the critical moment in Mohammed's life was his change of the Qibla. He turned his back on Jerusalem, and this was the beginning of his spiritual downfall.

The psychological notes on the last years of the Prophet's life refer to his sex-impulse and his moral deterioration.

Altogether we have here a remarkable contribution, worthy of particular attention. The book closes with a missionary appeal, and the thought is expressed that millions of souls who are seeking rest in submission to God (Islam) will find it in submission to Jesus Christ, and the bearing of His Cross. We can no longer ignore the literary and missionary labors of Roman Catholics in the world of Islam.

"A travailler en cette direction sous la bénédiction du Vicaire de Jésus-Christ, un persévérant effort catholique dont les pionniers semblent se lever de divers horizons sous le souffle de la grace divine, ne

peut manquer d'être fécond—lentement. Car c'est une longue œuvre d'avenir qui s'impose à la prière, à la réflexion, à l'action: il faut l'entrevoir, la préparer, l'entreprendre.

Semons.

Dieu fera lever les moissons en d'autres siècles pour sa gloire éternelle."

ZWEMER.

Syntaxe des Parlers actuels du Liban, par Mgr. Michel Feghali, Geuthner, Paris, 1928. 8vo. xxv, 535 pp. 125 fr.

This volume, which is Tome IX, of the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Langues orientales vivantes,* is one of the most important contributions to the study of Arabic Dialectology which has appeared in recent years. The author is a Lebanese Syrian by birth, and so, besides speaking Arabic as his mother tongue, has known the dialects of the Lebanon from childhood, having thus an immense advantage over Western students of the Arabic dialects, who have generally acquired their knowledge of them only relatively late in life. He received his philological training in France, and is already known to scholarship as the author of two interesting monographs: (I) *Etude sur les emprunts syriaques dans les parlers arabes du Liban* (1918), a very valuable study of the considerable remains of the old Syriac still preserved in the vocabulary of the Arabic spoken in the hill country of Syria, and (II) *Le Parler arabe de Kfar 'Abida* (1919), a detailed study of the phonology and morphology of one Lebanese dialect. The present volume is not interested particularly in Vocabulary or in Phonology, but in the syntactical structure of the dialects, a much more difficult study, and the author ranges all over the Lebanon area for his material.

The MOSLEM WORLD is hardly the place for a lengthy review of the many philological questions that Mgr. Feghali raises, but one may in these columns heartily recommend a volume packed full of well arranged material, which ought to prove of the very greatest service to that not inconsiderable number of friends of the Moslem world who have practical need of mastering the daily speech of the Lebanon area.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Zapiski: Kollegii vostokovedov pri Asiatskom Muzee: Akademii Hauk. Tome III. Pt. 2. Russian Academy. Leningrad. 1928. 365 pp.

This second part of the Third Volume of the new Soviet series of the *Russian Oriental Journal,* while well up to the standard of the previous numbers, contains less than usual of interest to students of Islam.

Ignace Kratchkovsky, who in Part I had dealt with the work of the Orientalist Guirgass, in this part makes a useful supplement to the Bibliography and work of that other great Russian Orientalist, the Baron v. Rosen. Romaskevitch continues the publication of his popular Persian Quatrains, which he began in vols. xxiii and xxv of the old series of the Journal, and gives us one hundred and fifty-two of these popular refrains, which he collected in various Persian towns in 1913 and 1914. He prints each Quatrain in Persian script, in Russian transliteration and then translation. Their main interest is perhaps dialectal, but they often throw interesting sidelights on Persian mentality.

There are four articles of purely linguistic interest on the Turkish dialects, and that completes all that touches on Islamic studies in this number.

There is the usual lengthy section of critical Book Reviews, but here again it is a little unfortunate that the Islamic section happens to be but poorly represented in this number.

A. JEFFERY.

Les Religions Contre la Guerre. Procès-verbaux du Comité Préparatoire du Congrès Universel des Forces Religieuses pour la Paix; Genève, Septembre, 1928. Union des Eglises pour la Paix. Paris, New York, Londres. 241 pp.

An extraordinary effort to unite very diverse cults in an objective of religiously influencing the nations of the world towards peace. The promoters may have sought to avoid their gathering being a conference of cranks, but do not seem to have succeeded. Of the three Mohammedans present, two, at least, were of the Ahmediyya sect, as one would naturally expect; of the thirteen Bahaists, almost all were Americans, as one would also expect; there were four people who called themselves Souffis, three of them were Europeans.

The speeches reveal the Christians for the most part apologetic about being Christians, one Christian speaker regretting that it was inadvisable to try and stop the work of missionaries; on the other hand the non-Christian speakers seemed most anxious to show how like Christianity their faiths were when rightly understood.

Professor Hume, of Union Seminary, New York, provided a liturgy composed from the sacred books of ten of the greater religions. Again we are not surprised to find that it is Christian taste that is the basis of selection.

Some of the speeches on behalf of world peace were excellent, one of the best was by an Indian Mohammedan, delegate to the League of Nations, Abdullah Yusuf Ali.

G. SWAN.

Pour Apprendre L'Arabe. Manuel du dialecte vulgaire d'Egypte, Grammaire-vocabulaire-dialogues par Georges Hug et Guirguis Habachi. Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1928. 128 pp. Price 20 frs.

This little work professes to fill a need between the serious handbooks of scholars and the little conversational books provided locally for tourists and others who need only a superficial knowledge of the language, the addition being a very condensed treatment of the grammar. The authors seem ignorant of the fact that this has been already done in Willmore's abbreviated manual. This present booklet, however, will be much easier for those used to French transliterations of the Arabic sounds.

G. SWAN.

Zoroastrian Studies: Iranian Religion and Various Monographs by A. V. Williams Jackson. Columbia University Press, New York, 1928. Price: $4.00.

This volume represents researches spread over a period of many years, and consists of a series of monographs based on sources which are only accessible to specialists, accompanied by voluminous notes and

an exhaustive index. The first part deals with the Iranian religion, its origin, development, theology and cosmology, as well as its ethical teaching and its rites and ceremonies. The second part is on the Zoroastrian doctrine of the freedom of the will, pp. 219–244. The third part consists of seven supplementary studies, including an account of Zoroaster's death, found in Tha'labi's Arabic History of the Kings of Persia. The author shows that the conquest of Islam was the cause of the overthrow and ruin of Zoroastrianism in Persia:

> "The overthrow and ruin of Zoroastrianism came from without, from Mohammedanism, when Islam began its victorious career in the seventh century of our era. The religion of Ormazd was in time almost extirpated on Iranian soil by the Arab conquest, and by the fanatical persecution of its adherents, and their enforced conversion to the faith of Allah. Only a few true followers of Zoroaster (about 10,000 Gabars) are still to be found scattered here and there in their old Persian home. A number preferred exile to conversion and sought refuge in India, where they found among the Hindus a place of safety, of peace, and of freedom to worship Ormazd."

Wisdom of the Prophets (in the light of Tasawwuf), being a synoptical translation into English of Shayk Muhiyuddin ibn-i-Ali ul Arabi's famous standard work on Tasawwuf—Fusus-ul-Hikam (Bezels of Wisdom) with Analytical Notes on each Fas, and a Life of the Shayk. By Khan Sahib Khaja Khan, B. A. The Hogarth Press, Madras, 1928, pp. xl, 202. Price Rs. 2/— net.

This appears to be the fourth work on Tasawwuf published by the author since 1903, one or two of which have been reviewed in our columns. This book is not by any means a complete translation of Ibn al-'Arabi's Fusūs al-Hikam, if we may judge by the portion which we have compared with the Arabic text, in which we find that a good deal of the original has been omitted. For this and other reasons we cannot recommend it as a reliable translation, but would recommend those who have access to the original to read it alongside of the Arabic. The peculiarities of the author's ideas on the transliteration of Arabic into the Roman letters may be inferred to some extent from the spelling of the title page given above, but in the body of the work the spelling is far worse, and in some cases the Arabic words, most of which are quotations from the Koran, are absolutely unrecognizable, and the difficulty is accentuated by the author's tendency to follow the Persian rather than the Arabic forms in passages other than Koran quotations. Misprints are also very numerous. The Ahmadiya text of the Koran with translation and commentary by Maulvi Muhammad Ali is quoted from in many instances, and one wonders to what extent the author would accept the teachings of the Ahmadiya. There are also many references to European scholars, such as Geiger, de Boer, Sell, etc., and it is evident that the author is widely read in Western as well as Arabic and Persian Islamic literature. We welcome this effort to introduce an important Arabic text to English readers, and wish there were many other Oriental scholars at work on the translation and annotation of such texts.

W. G. S.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Miss Hollis W. Hering
Missionary Research Library, New York

I. GENERAL.

The Changing Face of Islam. Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. In the *Journal of the Central Asian Society,* London, 1929, vol. XVI, pt. 2, pp. 181–190.)

An investigation as to how far true Islam still lies below the Westernized crust in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Persia.

Die Chronik des Ibn Tulun als Geschichtsquelle ueber den Feldzug Sultan Selim's I. gegen die Mamluken. Herbert Jansky. (In *Der Islam,* Berlin, 1929, Bd. XVIII, hft ½, pp. 24–33.)

An expansion of certain problems glanced at in the author's monograph, *"Die Eroberung Syriens durch Sultan Selim I."*

The Controlling Minds of Asia. Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. (In the *Fortnightly Review,* London, June, 1929, pp. 821–830.)

A review of the careers and the psychologies of Kemal, Ibn Saud, Riza Shah, and King Amanullah.

The Desert Road to Turkestan. Owen Lattimore. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C., June, 1929, pp. 661–702.)

A picturesque journey by caravan, horseback, and cart over a practically unknown trading route through inner Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan.

The Profane Invasion of Holy Bokhara. Anna Louise Strong. (In *The Atlantic Monthly,* Boston, July, 1929, pp. 103–110.)

A vivid picture of some of the changes wrought in this stronghold of Mohammedanism by the Soviet rule.

The Sulu Archipelago and Its People. John A. MacMillan. (In *World Dominion,* London, July, 1929, pp. 244–250.)

A description of the life in general and the habits of thought of these Moros.

Die Vezirfamilie der Gandarlyzade (14./15. Jhdt.) und ihre Denkmaeler. Franz Taeschner und Paul Wittek. (In *Der Islam,* Berlin, 1929, Bd. XVIII, hft 1/2, pp. 60–115.)

Notes resulting from two trips of archaeological research in the Near East.

II. ARABIA.

ARABIA—1926–1929; THREE YEARS OF WAHHABI RULE. H. St. J. B. Philby. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London, June, 1929, pp. 714–719.)

An appraisal of the value to Arabia of Ibn Saud's three years of rule as King of the Hijaz.

MY FRIEND IBN SAUD. Mohammed Leopold Weiss. (In the *Atlantic Monthly,* Boston, August, 1929, pp. 249–255.)

Sketches in broad outlines Ibn Saud's career, his achievements and his motivating principles.

WAHHABISM IN ARABIA, PAST AND PRESENT. Sheikh Hafiz Wahba. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking, August, 1929, pp. 279–290.)

Personalities and principles which have been, or are now, prominent in the history of this reform movement.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

ABŪ DU'AIB STUDIEN. E. Bräunlich. (In *Der Islam, Berlin,* 1929, Bd. XVIII, hft 1/2, pp. 1–23.)

A critical commentary on J. Hell's investigations on the work of the Arabian poet.

ISLAM AND SPIRITUALISM. 'Abdu 'l-Ghani Chaudhari. (In the *Islamic Review,* Woking, July, 1929, pp. 237–246.)

A justification of spiritualism by pointing out that so far from being opposed to the teachings of Islam it actually gives direct support to the Koran and the sayings of the Prophet.

ISLAM, THE GUIDE TO MODERN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. Lord Headley. (In the *Islamic Review,* Woking, June, 1929, pp. 191–209.)

A somewhat disorganized plea for the modernization of Islam, with the tolerant adaptation of non-essentials to the requirements of present-day life.

DER KORAN UND DAS MEER. W. W. Barthold. (In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig, 1929, Bd. 8, hft 1, pp. 37–43.)

A commentary on the sources of Mohammed's clear references to and apparent knowledge of the sea.

MODERNIZATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM. Muhammad Shahīdu 'l-Lah. In the *Islamic Review,* Woking, June, 1929, pp. 211–215.)

Proves historically that Islam can be reformed, actually that reformation is needed, but warns that all reform should be renovation and not innovation.

LE POETE ARABE AL-MOTANABBI ET L'OCCIDENT MUSULMAN.

R. Blachère. (In the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques,* Paris, 1929, cahier I., pp. 127–135.)

A search for those elements which, after more than one thousand years, continue to make this poet so widely read and quoted.

SUPERNATURALISM OF AL-QUR-AN. Syed Maqbool Ahmed. (In the *Islamic Review,* Woking, July, 1929, pp. 246–250.)

Quotes verses of the Koran to show their application to modern inventions and their fitness for all geographical regions.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

LA FEMME DE LA MOYENNE BOURGEOISIE FASIYA. A. M. Goichon. (In the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques,* Paris, 1929, cahier I., pp. 1–74.)

Careful notes made during investigations on the environment and other influences affecting the psychology of the women of Morocco.

LE PROBLEME DES WAKFS EN EGYPTE. Achille Sékaly. (In the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques,* Paris, 1929, cahier I., pp. 75–126.)

The first part of a study of the origin, organization, and development, the political relations, and the question of the reform of these groups.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND AFGHANISTAN. Mustapha Chokaiev. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London, July, 1929, pp. 497–516.)

Indicates some of the tortuous lines of Bolshevik diplomacy by numerous quotations from the press of countries bordering on Afghanistan.

THE TURKISH REPUBLIC; a new bridge on which Orient and Occident may meet. Agaoglu Ahmet. (In the *Century Magazine,* New York, August, 1929, pp. 479–488.)

An ardent nationalist seeks to present fairly and restrainedly Turkey's struggle for freedom, and her present relations with other world powers.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS.

CHANGING PERSIA. W. N. Wysham. (In the *Missionary Review of the World,* New York, June, 1929, pp. 433–439.)

After summing up the many physical and psychological changes in the country and the inhabitants, shows the great and effectual door which is opening before Christian missions there.

THE PLACE OF MISSIONS IN THE NEW TURKEY. Lee Vrooman. (In the *International Review of Missions,* London, July, 1929, pp. 401–409.)

Analyzes the reasons for the present restrictions on mission work, while indicating distinct ground for hope of cooperation in the future.

THE REAL MUHAMMAD AND THE IDEAL, a study of one phase of modern Muslim apologetic. Arthur Jeffery. (In the *International Review of Missions,* London, July, 1929, pp. 390–400.)

Indicates how Christian influence has changed the picture of the Arabian Prophet, and sums up its significance for the Christian missionary.

DIE RELIGION DES ISLAM. Eine Einführung in die moderne Problemlage. M. Horten. (In the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft,* Münster i. W, 1929, hft 2, pp. 129–137.)

An interpretation of Islam in the light of present-day thought, indicating the necessary change in missionary approach due to a more sympathetic knowledge of the mentality of Islamic peoples.

TRANSFORMATIONS IN MOROCCO. James Haldane. (In the *Missionary Review of the World,* New York, June, 1929, pp. 427–432.)

Analyzes the three distinct groups of inhabitants, and points out the numerical inadequacy of the Christian missionary force at work in the country.